







# DE BOW'S REVIEW.

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## ART. I.—THE TRANSATLANTIC TELEGRAPH.

EARLY SUBMARINE LINES—ATLANTIC ROUTES—NEWFOUNDLAND TO IRELAND—LABRADOR, GREENLAND TO SCOTLAND—AMERICA, AZORES TO PORTUGAL—ELECTRIC CIRCUITS AND CURRENTS.

For many years past, crossing the ocean by an electric telegraph has been the subject of serious thought; but, until within the past five years, it was more a matter of prophecy than reality. It ceased, in a great measure, to be prophecy after the success of the line across the English channel, from Dover to Calais, uniting England with France.

Some sixteen years ago, a prominent electric telegraph philosopher said, in a communication to the Secretary of the United States Treasury, that with his telegraph he could transmit messages across the Atlantic ocean, connecting the people of Europe and America by an electric communication. At that time it was a mere flourish of speech, because there was no known substance that could be made available for the necessary insulation.

About 1844 a new insulation was discovered, known as gutta-percha, a Malayan term given to a concrete juice taken from the Isonandra Gutta tree. It is indigenous to all the islands of the Indian Archipelago, and especially to the Malayan Peninsula, Borneo, Ceylon, and their neighborhoods, where are found immense forests of this tree, yielding this product in great abundance. The gutta, or juice, circulates between the bark and the wood of the tree, in veins, whose course is distinctly marked by black longitudinal lines. The juice consolidates in a few minutes after it is collected, when it is formed by hand into compact masses. It is a non-conductor of heat and electricity, is proof against alkalies and acids, being only affected by sulphuric or nitric in a highly

concentrated state, while the most powerful acetic, hydro-fluoric, or muriatic acids or chlorine have no perceptible effect upon its structure. It can be melted and remelted. It disregards frost, but it serves better in damp places than dry.

The discovery of this substance, and its non-conducting nature, introduced a new era in electric telegraphing. Instead of spanning the rivers by the aid of costly towering masts, gutta-percha served as a substantial insulation, and, therefore, submarine telegraphs became a matter of easy consummation. Manufactories were soon established, first in New York, then in London, Berlin, and St. Petersburg. Submarine wires were laid in rapid succession across the Mississippi, Ohio, Hudson, and other rivers. About the same time, art was restless to accomplish wonders in the Old World. The British Isles and the Continent needed to be united by an electric cord. The cable was laid from England to France, September 25th, 1851, and to this day successfully operates. Soon thereafter followed the submarine cables from Dover to Ostend, Belgium; England to the Hague, across the Zuyder Zee, the Great and Little Belts to Zealand in Denmark, across the Irish channel from Donaghadee to Portpatrick, across the sound from Denmark to Sweden, across Northumberland strait from New Brunswick to Prince Edward's Island, and, besides these, many others in Europe and America.

The success of these numerous submarine lines caused the organization of a company for the construction of a line to connect Europe with Africa, starting at Spezzia, and thence via Corsica and Sardinia. The French and Sardinian Governments guarantied the interest on the capital of the company. The line, after many unsuccessful efforts, was completed.

In 1855, the localization of the Russian war at Sebastopol rendered it necessary that the allies should be in daily communication with their respective armies. A telegraph was submerged from Varna to Balaclava, across the Black sea, some three hundred and forty miles, and during the remainder of the war this means of communication was of wonderful utility.

Simultaneous with these achievements in the science and art of the electric telegraph, I was devoting my energies in behalf of an Atlantic ocean telegraph. I procured grants from Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and other powers, to enable me to run the line, via of Greenland, Iceland, and the Faroe Isles. I was induced to procure the right for the route, because I had discovered that an electric current could not be transmitted on a circuit as long as would be necessary on any other route. Prof. Faraday's experiments demonstrated the

impossibility of sending a current long distances under water. A current has to contend against an opposing force. This counter influence not only retards the celerity of the electric current, but it finally stops its further progress and holds it in the wire, so that appliances have to be made to *draw out* the electricity held by this opposing force surrounding submarine wires. This was the state of the science as late as 1855. It will be seen that the difficulty was not in connection with the telegraph machine. It was the electric state which was hindered. Since that time there have not been any discoveries dispelling the difficulties then existing.

The subject of an ocean telegraph was presented by me, in 1854 and 1855, prominently before the people of America and Europe, as an enterprise worthy of the most liberal consideration, and one that was destined to produce results wonderful. Trade and commerce would be accelerated, and it would serve as a means of arresting strife, and for the promotion of peace and good will among men. The ideas thus promulgated throughout the world, met with a cheerful response from all nations. At this time speculation came forward and seized it with an unparalleled ferocity. Mystification was thrown over the enterprise, and by the force of money and a combination of circumstances, the public was led on to confide in the purity and integrity of the undertaking for a line from Newfoundland to Ireland. Practical telegraphers did all they could to warn the public of the scheme of folly; but it availed nothing. Now that this speculation is near its end, the better judgment begins to realize the true state of the case, and a conviction seems to be universal that the whole affair was a scheme of the most reckless and adventuresome speculation. The consequence resulting from the failure of this stupendous bubble, will be injurious to honest and practicable enterprises. This is to be expected, but it is also to be hoped that a discriminating public, on both continents, will at once free practicable and experienced telegraphers from any responsibility in the creation or management of the attempts to lay the cable from Ireland to Newfoundland.

No practical telegrapher is engaged in that enterprise: no Faraday, Lardner, Wheatstone, Jacobi, Steinheil, Henry, or any profound electric philosopher can be found engaged in it. Those who have had charge of the scientific department either have some invention to sell, or they are laborers for their hire.

The responsibility of the whole affair—the attempt to connect Ireland with Newfoundland by an electric telegraph cable—lies with a few reckless adventurers of New York, who, having passed with proficiency the school of Wall street, with

their superior speculating powers, have managed to lure into the scheme in England, gentlemen of capital and of benevolent heart. Little were they aware that their generous subscriptions were to inflate a bubble, mammoth in proportion, but soon to cease, and the adventurers with it, fade from the recollection of man. Like the swift and brilliant meteor that speeds through the heavens, its pathway at first transcendent in splendor, soon becomes dark and trackless amidst the myriads of starry gems that bedeck, in the most sublime grandeur, the canopy of blue.

There are three routes proposed for Atlantic telegraphs. I will notice them respectively.

**ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH COMPANY'S ROUTE, VIA IRELAND AND NEWFOUNDLAND.**—The line of the Atlantic Telegraph Company is designed to connect Great Britain with the British possessions in America—Ireland with Newfoundland. The company was organized in London, under charter from the British Parliament in 1857.

*Telegraphic Distances of the Atlantic Telegraph Line from New York to London.*

<i>Submarine.</i> —Air line across the ocean from the American coast to Ireland, as one submarine and electric section or circuit.....	1,940
Estimate of 50 per cent. plus for slack of cable for the ocean.....	970
Total miles in submarine section.....	<u>2,910</u>

<i>Land lines.</i> —From New York to the coast of Newfoundland, via Boston, Maine, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and across Newfoundland, estimated as air line on the route of the existing telegraphs.....	1,310
From Irish Coast, along the route of the existing telegraphs to London, estimated as air lines.....	940

Total miles of land telegraph.....	<u>2,250</u>
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Total submarine ocean line, in one section.....	2,910
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Total miles of land existing telegraphs.....	2,250
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Total miles from New York to London.....	<u>5,160</u>
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In the above estimates no account is taken of the submarine lines across the Gulf of St. Lawrence, some eighty miles long, nor of the submarine line across the Irish channel. The existing telegraphs on the American side are overland lines, and those in Great Britain are mostly underground lines. The entire land route is fair for maintaining a telegraph line, except across Newfoundland. It will be found exceedingly difficult to maintain a telegraph across this island.

**THE TRANSATLANTIC TELEGRAPH ROUTE, VIA GREENLAND, ICELAND AND THE FAROE ISLES.**—The line of the Transatlantic

Submarine Telegraph Company is designed to run from Norway and Scotland, respectively, to the Faroe Isles, from thence to Iceland. On and across Iceland, the line will be laid subterranean. Leaving west Iceland, the submarine cable will run to south Greenland, and then subterranean across Greenland, keeping in the mild climate and inhabited country. From south Greenland the line will cross the Davis' Straits to Labrador, south of the Moravian settlement at Nain, and from thence across Labrador to Quebec and Montreal, at which places it will connect with the net-work of telegraphs extending throughout America.

On the European side, the respective governments of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Russia, have engaged to extend "all the material and necessary aid for the sure, certain, and unhindered communication to and from all nations," upon equal terms, having in view the promotion of peace among men; or, in other words, no nation can employ the telegraph as a means of war in any manner whatever.

The Transatlantic telegraph route is favorable for the construction and maintenance of a line having in view a subterranean line from Quebec to the coast of Labrador. This country, the most difficult of the route, is not so unfavorable as Newfoundland for the maintenance of a telegraph. In crossing the Davis' Straits there is nothing to interfere. The shore ice is not so bad on any part of the coast south of Nain as the Newfoundland coast near St. John's. Icebergs never approach either the Labrador or Greenland coast within the route of the proposed telegraph. The records, for over a century past, will prove that there never has been any circumstance to justify the belief that the line of the telegraph will ever be disturbed by the icebergs, on account of their grounding or otherwise. Shore ice presents no difficulties insurmountable.

Greenland is a continent usually regarded as composed of "icy mountains," and to many who have never studied that really interesting country, it may be considered as impracticable for the construction and maintenance of a telegraph. This is a mistake, so far as it pertains to south Greenland. There are snow and icy-capped mountains, it is true; so there are in Switzerland, and also in Mexico. Where there are mountains there are valleys.

In Greenland there are rich and fertile valleys, and susceptible of practicable cultivation. "The climate is moderate in winter and very hot in summer." There are no insurmountable difficulties in the way of putting down a subterranean telegraph. The shore ice on the eastern coast, north of latitude 65°, will render it difficult to land a cable for much



of the year. South of latitude  $63^{\circ} 30'$  that difficulty does not exist more than perhaps at St. John's, Newfoundland. In either case, the ice presents no formidable barrier, except for a short time. In order to keep within mild climate, and to avoid the ice with more certainty, latitude  $62^{\circ} 30'$  is as far north on Greenland as may be adopted. Special explorations can alone determine this question. Were it practicable to run north to latitude  $67^{\circ}$ , the submarine cable, from Greenland to Iceland, would only be in an air line some two hundred and sixty miles long, instead of three hundred and ninety miles air line, as from latitude  $62^{\circ} 30'$ . While in Denmark, I occupied much time in the examination of the official surveys of Greenland, and I have seen persons who have resided on that continent for years, and those researches and interviews have produced full conviction upon my mind that there exists no insurmountable obstacle in the way of successfully constructing and maintaining an electric telegraph on Greenland.

Iceland is the farthest point north required to run the line of the Transatlantic telegraph. It is hardly necessary to say anything in regard to the practicability of constructing a telegraph on this island. Its population is composed of Danes, and education is general. Iceland has been most thoroughly surveyed, and I availed myself of the opportunity afforded me in Denmark for the most careful study of the country, the people, the trade, and the climate. Of all the regions traversed by this telegraph, Iceland will present the least obstacles to complete success. Leaving the southeastern coast of Iceland, the line will run to the Faroe Isles. This group of islands is also owned by Denmark, and they will afford a convenient relay between Iceland with Norway, and Iceland with Scotland. The electric circuits will thus be made short and more serviceable.

From the Faroe Isles it is one hundred and ninety miles to Scotland, where a connection can be made direct to London. From the Faroe Isles the line will run to Norway, a distance of three hundred and sixty miles. Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, have already been arranging their lines to accommodate the wants of the Transatlantic telegraph, by which the whole continent of Europe will be placed in immediate telegraph connection. Russia has constructed its imperial line on the north coast of the Gulf of Finland, ready to join with the Swedish telegraphs, by a cable across the Gulf of Bothnia, as designed in my arrangements with the late Emperor of Russia.

In regard to the depth of the sea on the route of the Transatlantic telegraph, no one is informed. It is reasonable to suppose that it is sufficiently deep to be beyond the reach of

the anchors of vessels. After the cable is laid, a deep sea will present no difficulties to the telegraph. It is a theory that the ocean is as quiet and as calm as a mill pond at its bottom. The depth of the water is important to know, so that proper calculation be made for the paying out of the cable to accommodate the bottom of the ocean. Electrically, the depth of the sea presents no questions of importance requiring consideration. The paying out of the cable is a question of mechanics. In the consideration of an ocean telegraph, there are two points only to be determined, viz :

1st. The cable should be so constructed as to be capable of being subservient to the required mechanical arrangements for paying it out from the vessel.

2d. The cable should not be longer than the capacity of its conducting wire to transmit a current of electricity of the greatest intensity for practical telegraphic purposes.

In the consideration of the respective routes proposed to be occupied by the different projectors of this grand enterprise, one of the most important questions is that having reference to the length of cable and its tonnage. The cable from Ireland to Newfoundland is near three thousand miles long, and is scaled for the tonnage of two vessels. The ratio of increased strength that could be applied to a cable of one-fourth the length, with an equal tonnage, ought to be admitted as of paramount importance. To be brief, the following points may be regarded as fixed facts in the science and art of ocean telegraphing :

1st. The strength of the Transatlantic telegraph cable, being about one-fourth the length of the Atlantic telegraph cable, can be greatly increased over the cable of the latter without exceeding the tonnage per vessel.

2d. The Atlantic telegraph cable can have but one electric wire or means of communication, owing to its great length and tonnage. The Transatlantic cable can have five electric wires, and then not exceed the tonnage of the cable employed per vessel by the Atlantic company.

3d. The electric circuits of the Transatlantic line being short, there will be but little retardation of electric currents, and in this respect has pre-eminent advantages over any other ocean route.

4th. With five wires, and other things being equal, the Transatlantic line can transmit five times more intelligence than can be sent by or over any other ocean route.

5th. As the submarine sections of the Transatlantic telegraph are short, any one section may fail without destroying



the remainder of the line. Any part of the Atlantic line failing, the whole line is forever lost—"deep in the bosom of the ocean buried."

*Telegraphic distances of the Transatlantic Telegraph Line—New York to London.*

<i>Submarine.</i> —Air line across Davis' Straits to Greenland.....	460
Greenland to Iceland.....	390
Iceland to Faroe Isles.....	272
Faroe Isles to Scotland.....	190

Total miles of air line, submarine.....	1,312
Estimate 50 per cent. plus, for slack of cable in ocean.....	656
Total miles of submarine cables.....	<u>1,968</u>

<i>Land Lines.</i> —New York to coast of Labrador, <i>via</i> Montreal, Quebec, to ocean coast, air line.....	1,180
Across Greenland, subterranean....	210
Across Iceland.....do.....	290
Across Faroe Isles.....do.....	30
Scotland to London, air line, of telegraph.....	720

Total miles of land lines.....	<u>2,430</u>
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Total miles in the submarine line in the four sections.....	1,968
Total miles of land lines in five sections.....	<u>2,430</u>

Total miles, telegraphically, from New York to London.....	<u>4,398</u>
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Distance of Atlantic line from New York to London.....	5,160
Distance of Transatlantic line, New York to London.....	<u>4,398</u>

Less distance by Transatlantic telegraph line.....	762
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**SOUTH ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH ROUTE, VIA THE AZORE ISLES.—**

This new scheme has received considerable attention in Europe within the past year. It has been advocated as a practicable route for a telegraph, if it be found possible to transmit a current of electricity for telegraphic purposes a distance commensurate with its requirements. It is reasoned that if an electric current, for telegraphic service, can be transmitted from Ireland to Newfoundland, it will be possible to transmit a like current on a like distance through other parts of the ocean. It is proposed to run this line from West Portugal to the Azore Isles, which will require a cable of one thousand seven hundred and fourteen miles, to the Flores. From Cape Clear, Ireland, to the Flores, the cable would be one thousand eight hundred and sixty miles. From the Flores to Nan-tucket, the cable would be three thousand and ninety-nine miles. From the Flores to Cape Race, one thousand nine hundred and eighty-three miles. The land route from Lisbon to London would be about one thousand six hundred miles. The line might run from Land's End, England, to the Flores, which would not much exceed the line from Cape Clear,

Ireland. By these figures the distance from London to Boston or New York would exceed five thousand miles. The Flores is the most western of the Azore groupe of isles, and it is due to the south Atlantic telegraph route to select its most favorable points for telegraphic purposes. This island is not so projecting, and may be regarded as the best to approach and to depart from with an electric cable. It has been said that there are precipices and lofty peaks in the ocean about the Azores; and, therefore, a cable would soon be cut or worn in two by friction, owing to the "movement of the waters." This may be true.

The theory recognized by the Atlantic Telegraph Company as to the tranquility of the sea, it being as "quiet and calm as a mill-pond at the bottom," does not sustain any apprehension of danger to the cable on this route, even if there are great caverns, immense valleys, high towering mountains, and sharp-pointed pinnacles at the bottom of the sea. Those caverns and valleys may be wide and gradual in descent, the mountains may be slopes as gentle as the Urals, and it is hardly reasonable to suppose that the pinnacles are to spire-like as to entangle the cable, nor so "sharp as a two-edged sword."

It would be folly to disguise the fact that the world is very ignorant as to the contour of the bottom of the seas, especially as to its applicability for the maintenance of a telegraph cable laying thereon. It is but reasonable to suppose that there are cavities and projections at the bottom of the sea on any route. If the sea be as "quiet as a mill pond," as is advocated by scientific gentlemen, then it is not material how many valleys and mountains exist on the bottom. If it be not quiet, and there exist streams of currents sweeping with the most restless impetuosity over the bottom of the mighty deep on this route, it will be but fair to admit that the same difficulty, the same mighty movement of the waters may be found throughout the universe, wherever the sea ebbs and flows.

COMPARATIVE DISTANCES OF THE ATLANTIC AND TRANSATLANTIC TELEGRAPHS.—The following estimates are based upon air line measurements, taken alike on the routes of the respective telegraphs from the leading cities of America to the leading cities of Europe. They prove that the Transatlantic telegraph line, *via* Greenland, Iceland, and the Faroe Isle, telegraphically, is less in distance between the cities mentioned than the Atlantic telegraphic line. The average in favor of the Transatlantic telegraph is more than one thousand miles less than the Atlantic telegraph, *via* Newfoundland to Ireland.

Names of cities.	Distance.		
	By Atlantic line.	By Transatlantic line.	Less by Transatlantic line.
London to Quebec.....	5,010	4,068	942
" Montreal.....	5,140	4,198	942
" Boston.....	4,970	4,328	642
" New York.....	5,160	4,398	762
" Buffalo.....	5,390	4,398	992
" Cincinnati.....	5,720	4,758	962
" Chicago.....	5,960	4,828	1,132
" St. Louis.....	6,040	5,085	955
" New Orleans.....	6,440	5,508	932

*From New York to European cities.*

Names of cities.	Distance.		
	By Atlantic line.	By Transatlantic line.	Less by Transatlantic line.
New York to London.....	5,160	4,398	762
" Glasgow.....	4,600	3,873	727
" Paris.....	5,400	4,638	762
" Vienna.....	6,030	5,041	989
" Berlin.....	5,640	4,701	939
" Hamburg.....	5,600	4,641	959
" Copenhagen.....	5,780	4,461	1,319
" Stockholm.....	6,160	4,411	1,749
" St. Petersburg....	6,750	4,895	1,855

CURRENTS AND CIRCUITS OF ELECTRICITY.—Electricity, used for telegraphic purposes generally, is styled galvanic, because it is generated by a battery composed of metals and chemicals. On one line in England magnetic electricity is employed; it is generated through the agency of magnets. The telegraphic service requires a battery that will generate the smallest amount of *quantity current*, but of the greatest *intensity current*. It is necessary to fully understand these terms. In reference to their use, Professor Faraday says, viz :

“The character of the phenomena described in this report induces me to refer to the terms *intensity* and *quantity* as applied to electricity, terms which I have had such frequent occasion to employ. These terms, or equivalents for them, cannot be dispensed with by those who study both the static and the dynamic relations of electricity. Every current, where there is resistance, has the static element and induction involved in it, whilst every case of insulation has more or less of the dynamic element and conduction; and we have seen that, with the same voltaic source, the same current in the same length of the same wire gives a different result as the intensity is made to vary with variations of the induction around the wire. The idea of intensity, or the power of overcoming resistance, is as necessary to that of electricity, either static or current, as the idea of pressure is to steam in a boiler, or to air passing through apertures or tubes, and we must have language competent to express these conditions and these ideas.”

The *quantity* of electricity developed by any galvanic battery depends practically upon the size of the plates used. The *intensity* is the force with which the quantity is brought to bear upon anything to produce a given result; its *energy*, in overcoming obstacles or impediments to the free passage of the electric current. This *intensity* is generally acquired by increasing the number of cells, and it is proportioned to that numerical increase. A *quantity current* can be so great as to be unmanageable for telegraphic service. It becomes as restless as static, or lightning electricity, and will leave the wire if in proximity to another conductor. An *intensity current* is necessary for overcoming distance. In reference to this subject, that distinguished philosopher, Dr. Lardner says, viz:

"To produce the effects, whatever these may be, by which the telegraphic messages are expressed, it is necessary that the electric current shall have a certain *intensity*. Now, the *intensity of the current* transmitted by a given voltaic battery along a given line of wire will decrease, other things being the same, in the same proportion as the length of the wire increases. Thus, if the wire be continued for ten miles, the current will have twice the *intensity* which it would have if the wire had been extended to a distance of twenty miles.

"*It is evident, therefore, that the wire may be continued to such a length that the current will no longer have sufficient intensity to produce at the station to which the despatch is transmitted those effects by which the language of the despatch is signified..*"

There are various kinds of electricity. In regard to static or machine electricity, Franklin established the identity of this fluid with that of the clouds, the mode of generation being the same. There is thermo or heat electricity which species can be applied to telegraphing. Galvanic, that electricity generated by the action of acids on metals, is the kind generally used for the telegraph. It contains *quantity* power, but its *intensity* seems to be far greater than any other known electricity. It is more docile, and in fact, it is the life of an electro-magnetic telegraph. Magneto electricity is used to a limited extent in England. Much merit is claimed for it. With these remarks, I will now notice the electric circuits as employed in telegraphing by which it will be seen that a spark, a current, wave, or pulsation from any given battery has its limit as to distance.

The extent of the intensity of the current depends much upon the battery employed. Some batteries generate more *quantity current* than others, and then there are batteries

which give out a current of greater *intensity* than others. There are different batteries in use on the telegraph. The Grove battery, or a modification of it, is the most general in telegraphic service.

Having now fully explained the nature of *electric currents*, it becomes necessary to speak of those currents in their application to *circuits*. An *electric circuit* is common to an *electric current*. There cannot be one without the other. The term *circuit*, means the length, or distance, of the telegraphic wire on which is employed the electricity generated by any given battery before it is thrown into the earth. On a line from New York to Washington, the *current of electricity* passes over the wire, then into the earth, and many suppose, and believe in the theory, that the current of electricity makes its way back to New York, through the earth, there connects with the wire that runs from the battery to the earth, ascending that wire it completes its *circuit*. Unless the ends of the wire are connected with the earth, there will be no electricity, except there be two wires run from New York to Washington, by which the *current* will be *sent* on one, and it will *return* on the other. In this latter case, the ground is not employed, but the wire will connect both ends of the battery and complete the *circuit of the wire* over which can flow the *current of electricity*, which is the completion of a *circuit of electricity*. In further explanation with reference to the telegraph, suppose a line of telegraph with one wire is run from New York to Washington, about two hundred and fifty miles. The battery is in New York. A wire from one end of the battery is run to the moist earth; from the other end of the battery is run a wire through the machine in the New York office, thence over the poles to Washington, into the office, through the machine, and then into the earth, where the end is buried as was with the other end in New York. The moment the wire in Washington is connected with the earth, and not until then, the battery in New York commences to generate electricity. If the wire is taken out of the earth the battery ceases to act. The current starting from one end of the battery, passes through the machine in the New York office, thence over the poles to Washington, into the machine there, setting it in motion, passes on to the earth. Practically, there is a battery at Washington on the wire between the machine and the earth. When the current leaves New York it is *strong*, and when it gets to Washington it is *feeble*. *Intensity* forces it to Washington. The machine in Washington being set in motion, puts into action another circuit beyond to Petersburg, Virginia, and thence a circuit extends to Augusta, Georgia; on which, as well as all the circuits or sections, another battery



is employed, beyond this circuit is another to Montgomery, Alabama, and the next to Mobile, Alabama, and the next circuit extends to New Orleans, and thus the whole distance required is overcome. The operator in New York transmits the message; the machines at Washington and other places beyond, transfer the message from circuit or section, to the next succeeding, until it reaches its destination at New Orleans. The whole distance may be estimated at one thousand eight hundred miles, having five distinct and separate electric circuits, averaging three hundred and sixty miles for each, with an independent battery on the respective circuits. These machines are called *repeaters*, because they *repeat* the message on to the next circuit. The arrangement is called the *combining of circuits*, and the offices are called *relay* stations. These circuits may extend to four hundred and five hundred miles, and on rare occasions to six hundred or seven hundred miles. As a general practice, there is not a line in America that works in one circuit a distance of seven hundred miles. Iron wire is used as conductors all over America and Europe, on overground lines. Copper wire is used on all underground lines. Ratio of conductibility for copper, is 100, and for iron, 15.5. If the lines on poles were copper, of equal size as the iron wire now used, it might be practicable to work a circuit of eight hundred or one thousand miles; and, as a phenomena for wonderment, at a very cold and frosty time, a current might be transmitted one thousand five hundred or two thousand miles, but not for any practicable purpose in telegraphing.

In reference to overground telegraph lines, so universally used in America and Europe, it is important to state the fact of their peculiar insulation, as compared with underground lines. Air is a better insulator than gutta-percha or any known substance used in telegraphing. Glass, for the present case, may be considered as equal to gutta-percha, now used as the sole insulation of an underground line. On the line of one thousand eight hundred miles, from New York to New Orleans, the wire touches the glass for each pole about one inch. On the whole route there are not more than forty-eight thousand inches of contact, or some four thousand feet, making less than four-fifths of a mile. The remainder of the distance the air insulation is better than gutta-percha could be. It has been shown that this line, with this superior insulation of more than one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine miles of better, and one mile as equal, requires five independent and separate electric circuits to work it from New York to New Orleans. As it requires five galvanic circuits to transmit a message from New York to New Orleans, a dis-

tance of one thousand eight hundred miles, with all the superior insulation before mentioned, how can it be possible to work a submarine line three thousand miles across the Atlantic ocean with one circuit?

The underground telegraph has difficulties to overcome not common to overground lines. The most prominent hindrance is called the *retardation of the electric current*, and sometimes styled the *return current*. When a stream of electricity is thrown on a submarine wire, it is *retarded* in its transmission. It requires time to pass. A power exterior acts against it, and finally stops its further extension, and holds it in the electric wire.

On examining the conductibility of submarine wires in Europe, the following facts were reported to me by the most skillful telegraph electricians:

"The retardation experienced in underground wires, as regards the electric impulse, is not due to any resistance of the conducting medium; for, as it is found in the instance of the Leyden jar, that the frictional electricity communicated is temporarily absorbed by the metal in the interior of the jar, so the galvanic or magnetic currents, during their passage through the underground wires, are partly absorbed, until the mass of copper constituting the wire is saturated with electricity; and it would also appear that a definite time is occupied in the absorption of the electricity by the successive portions of the wire, such as is found to occur in charging a Leyden jar; and until this process of impregnation has been completed, the sensation cannot be communicated to the other end of the conductor.

"The retardation will, therefore, result not from resistance, but from the first portion of the charge communicated being absorbed for the time by the conductor through which it passes; for, in addition to the foregoing, copper wire conducts far more freely than the iron wire made use of in the overground wires.

"In experiments conducted by my brother and myself upon a circuit of four hundred and eighty miles (480) of the underground wires, a *marked* difference between communication of the electric impulse, and its arrival at the other end, has been observed; *the interval required for the passage of the sensation amounting to rather more than a third part of a second.*

"The rate of transmission of the galvanic or magnetic fluids, through such conductors, is, therefore, only about one thousand miles per second."

In the above it will be seen that a current of electricity cannot be sent with any certainty a distance of two thousand



miles. Prof. Faraday, Dr. Lardner, and other philosophers with whom I have discussed this subject, fully concur in the above, not as a speculative theory, but as demonstrated facts. In truth, every scientific man on either continent cannot but confess, that we have no knowledge of a species of electricity that can be transmitted over a given conductor, for practical telegraphic service, a submarine or an overground wire, two thousand miles in one unbroken circuit.

It is not possible to fully explain in a few pages the sciences involved in the consideration of an oceanic telegraph. Whether a cable can be laid or not is a question of mechanics. That fact has been demonstrated. The working of the cable after it is laid is not so easily solved. With the experience the world has had there can be no reason found for having any confidence in the possibility of working a thousand miles submarine.

With the best information, therefore, the world has upon the subject, it is but the exercise of common sense, to say at once, that a current of any known electricity cannot be transmitted either overground or underground, or under water, a distance of two thousand miles. The only basis of calculation is that hereinbefore given. According to those experiments the following would be the result if it was possible to send a current the estimated distance.

Upon the scale of measurement herein given, a pulsation of the electric current can be transmitted three thousand miles in one hour forty-nine minutes and twenty-one seconds. The easiest word that can be sent is one composed of dots, and for this illustration the word *Mississippi* may be selected, which, in the telegraph language, is written thus:

— M . . . . . i . . . . . s . . . . . s . . . . . i . . . . . s . . . . . s . . . . . i . . . . . p . . . . . p . . . . . i

In writing this word, there are thirty dots and two dashes, say thirty-two impulses of electricity. The spaces between the dots require as much time in writing the word as is employed for making the dots. It is only necessary, in the present case, to estimate the time required to send the dots. The proof given shows that to send one impulse or one dot from Ireland to Newfoundland, the time required will be one hour, forty-nine minutes, and twenty-one seconds. This time, multiplied by the thirty-two dots, or impulses, make fifty-eight hours, nineteen minutes, and twelve seconds. Two days, ten hours, nineteen minutes, and twelve seconds, will be the time required to transmit the word *Mississippi* from Ireland to Newfoundland! A message of ten words will require, at the same speed, twenty-four days, seven hours, and twelve minutes.

## ART. II.—AMERICAN COAL FIELDS.

## THE NOVA SCOTIA, CAPE BRETON, AND OTHER COAL FIELDS.

THE only coal fields in the British North American Possession at present, of much commercial importance, are those of the Province of Nova Scotia and the Island of Cape Breton.

COAL FIELDS OF NEW BRUNSWICK.—These coal fields lie to the north of the Bay of Fundy; the southernmost edge of the coal formation being distant some twenty or thirty miles from the shores of the bay. The only part of the coal fields which approaches near to the waters of the bay, is the southeastern portion adjoining the Cumberland coal district, or western extremity of the Nova Scotia coal field. The most productive of the New Brunswick coal seams are found in the interior of the Province, whilst those of Nova Scotia lie close to the shores of her navigable waters. It is therefore no cause of surprise that the coal of Nova Scotia more readily finds its way into the markets and appears there in much greater quantity.

Besides this, as a general rule, there is a presumption in favor of the belief that the quality of the coal deteriorates and the beds thin out going west—some facts are asserted which tend to support the inference. The thinning out of the strata is well ascertained; in the vicinity of the St. John's river, the thickness of the beds ranges from one foot to eighteen inches; it is asserted, however, that workable veins have been found in this neighborhood.

There is danger of error in being too distrustful of the quality of the coal. Dr. Jackson affirms that a very superior kind of bituminous coal (and all the coals of these Provinces are bituminous) has recently been discovered in Albert county—this coal is the richest in gas making qualities of any that is known; it contains 60 per cent. of gas making bitumen, and 40 per cent. of coak, which yields but half a pound of ashes per hundred weight. This coal is a very desirable adjunct to supply, by mixture to our semi-bituminous coals of Maryland and Virginia, what is defective in these latter for the production of gas; the importation of the New Brunswick coal would thus tend to increase, instead of diminish, the consumption of our own, as the mixture is considered to give the best product. A company has been incorporated with mining privileges in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, but they are prohibited from mining coal. The largest known bed of *plumbago* in America, is near the mouth of the St. John's river. Near Fredericton, on the same stream, an extensive deposit of excellent coal for forges is found. Above

Fredericton, in the vicinity of Woodstock, there is an inexhaustible bed of red hematite iron ore very suitable for the production of cast steel.

**COAL OF NEWFOUNDLAND.**—The western side of the island of Newfoundland is known to contain large underlying strata belonging to the coal formation; but coal has never formed one of the exports of the island, and no reliable data exist concerning the actual area or location of the workable coal, or its value as a marketable product.

**COAL OF THE ISLAND OF BOULARDERIE.**—The island of Boularderie, lying near the northeast coast of Cape Breton, is four miles wide by twenty miles long, and is entirely underlaid with the same description of coal as is found upon the main Island; the coal has never been worked, although quite accessible—the reason probably is that the best port is upon the coast of Cape Breton.

**COAL FIELDS OF NOVA SCOTIA AND CAPE BRETON.**—These are the remaining and commercially important coal fields. The principal mining districts are those of Pictou in Nova Scotia and Sidney in the island of Cape Breton. Next in order are the Cumberland mines in Nova Scotia, and the Bridgeport mines in Cape Breton.

The Pictou mines are near the port of that name which is situated upon the Gulf of St. Lawrence, about eighty miles by sea from the gut of Canso, between Cape Breton and Nova Scotia. The port of Pictou is easy of access, and the harbor is safe; but, under certain circumstances of wind and tide, vessels prefer to load by means of lighters, which are towed by steam tugs, rather than to proceed to the loading ground, three miles above the town at the mouth of East river—the expense of the lighters must of course finally be paid by the consumer. The Albion mines are eight miles, and the Pictou mines six miles from the loading ground; there is a connection by railway operated by locomotive power. The main coal seam is thirty-three feet in thickness, of which about thirteen feet finds a foreign market; the remainder is well adapted to the use of furnaces and forges—a few miles to the south, ten other large seams of coal have been discovered. The deepest shaft is about four hundred and fifty feet, and the greatest depth below tide water is about four hundred and twenty-seven feet.

The whole area of the Pictou coal strata has been estimated at twenty-eight square miles; but making allowance for faults and other drawbacks, the *available* area of the only seam now worked is pretty certainly ascertained not to exceed three square miles. This coal is a hard, open burning

coal; it has a good reputation for steamboat use, and, on account of containing less sulphur, is said not to be so liable to spontaneous combustion as the Virginia coal; an advantage also claimed for it over that of the Sydney mines is, that it does not cement together so much during combustion. The Pictou coal fields, and those of the Cumberland district, contain large beds of argillaceous oxides, and carbonates of iron, commonly called "clay iron stone." The metallic ores of Nova Scotia are in immediate proximity to her vast deposits of coal. The trap rocks are referable to the same geological epoch as those of the south side of Lake Superior, known to abound in silver and copper; and these valuable minerals are found in the northern mountains of Nova Scotia in sufficient quantities to justify the presumption that only skill and enterprise are wanting to develop these latest resources into a productive revenue of great value.

THE CUMBERLAND REGION occupies the northwestern portion of the Nova Scotia coal field, extending from Northumberland strait on the east to Chignecto bay on the west. The coal strata diminish in thickness very remarkably in this western part of the region; the mean thickness of seventy-six seams was found to be seven inches, and the thickest seam showed three feet eight inches of good coal in a vein of four-and-a-half feet. The Cumberland mines have been but recently opened, in a four-and-a-half foot vein, at a point upon Chignecto bay; the coal is bituminous, but is said to contain more sulphur than any other variety of the Nova Scotia coal.

The coals of Nova Scotia are of various kinds; but none of them enter into direct competition with those of the United States, because they differ very much from the latter, or, at least, from all those found on the eastern side of the Alleghenies. The Nova Scotia coal must always find a market whatever be the product of our own mines of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, for among them are varieties adapted to different purposes, such as steam generation, especially for navigation, gas making, smith's use, and others.

**COAL OF CAPE BRETON OR SYDNEY COAL.**—The Island of Cape Breton is abundantly supplied with coal upon the eastern, southern, and western shores; the Sydney coal field is upon the eastern shore. There are here in all fourteen seams of coal each over three feet thick—the thickness of the bed worked is six feet—the supply of coal may be considered as practically inexhaustible. This region contains one hundred and twenty square miles of workable coal lands—the coal is highly bituminous, soft and close burning, suitable for domestic purposes, and is considered fully equal to the best Newcastle coal.

The Bridgeport mines are fifteen miles from Sydney; the coal is of the same description and quality as the Sydney coal—the vein worked is nine feet thick—it contains two light bands of shale.

The Sydney mines are connected by a railway three miles in length with the shipping wharves. The harbor of Sydney is equal, if not superior, to any in British America, and is accessible in all winds; vessels of the greatest burden can, with ease, approach the loading grounds, where they lie in safety throughout the shipping season. The cost of mining and loading the Nova Scotia coal may be judged from the following data collected a few years since:

**MINING AT PICTOU.**—The coal is mined by the cubic yard at prices varying from 26.7 cents to 36.7 cents, but the bulk of the coal is mined at the first mentioned price; these prices are equivalent to 28.8 and 33 cents per ton of 2,240 lbs. respectively; we may estimate the cost of production as follows:

Miner's wages.....	30 cents	per ton.
Underground transportation.....	09 "	"
Timbering.....	02 "	"
Firemen, watchmen, and road cleaners.....	02 "	"
Foremen, engineer, and firemen above ground.....	03½ "	"
Tools, materials, and sundries.....	08 "	"
Salaries (managers and subordinates).....	09 "	"
<hr/>		
Cost at mouth of the pit.....	62½ "	"
Transportation, screening, and loading on ships.....	10½ "	"
<hr/>		
	73½	
Say cost per ton on board.....	75 cts.	

This calculation is for an annual business of 90,000 tons; the expense of repairs and interest on capital are not included in this estimate. The item of salaries, and some others, would not be much increased if the business were greatly extended.

The aggregate of the charges recited, and amounting to 75 cents, are believed to stand thus at Sydney:

Cost at mouth of pit....	71 cts.
Cost on board.....	91 cts.

The cause of this difference in price is not very distinctly stated; it probably depends upon a variety of details. About one-fourth of the coal mined at Sydney is fine coal, or "slack" as it is termed—of this about one half is large enough for the domestic use of the miners—the remainder is called "dust;" it is thrown aside in large heaps, where it takes fire by spontaneous combustion, and is finally consumed. The Pictou mines have the advantage that the slack is an article of export for smith's use; it is delivered on board at 83 cents per ton, and costs the importer at Boston \$2 65 per ton—thus the slack



very nearly pays cost, instead of being either valueless or an item of positive expense in removal.

The price of superintendence and labor is thus stated :

Overseers, \$720 per annum, with house and fuel.

Assistant overseers, \$360 per annum, with house and fuel.

Conductors of trains, \$36 per month.

Engineers of trains, 80 cents to \$1 per month.

Miners earn about \$1 20 per day with house and fuel, and deducting certain charges for medical attendance and schools, leaves them a net earning equal in money to \$366 30 per annum.

Laborers receive 65 to 70 cents per day.

The salary of the manager is stated at \$4,000 per annum.

The shipping season at Pictou, as determined by the climate, may be reckoned from the middle of May to the middle of November—a duration of six months.

At Sydney the harbor opens on to the main ocean, and the practical shipping season may be estimated at seven months. The active business, however, commences earlier at Pictou than at Sydney, because the Pictou coal is more in request for manufacturing purposes and steam navigation, whilst the Sydney coal is generally preferred for domestic use—hence the season for its consumption begins only with the approach of winter—freights have heretofore ranged about as follows:

	Per ton.
From Pictou to Boston.....	\$1 90 to \$2 10
“ Sydney to Boston.....	do. do.
“ Pictou to Providence.....	2 39½
“ Pictou to New York.....	2 69

When large quantities of coal are purchased, say 1,500 tons, it has been customary to allow a deduction of about ten per cent.

The mines of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton are worked by a company under a lease from the Government—the company is commonly known as the “General Mining Association;” it has recently procured a charter; its capital is estimated at about \$1,250,000. The following is a probable exhibit of its business:

#### *Probable Profits of the Company.*

Investment at Pictou, say.....	\$900,000
Annual business at Pictou, say.....	90,000 tons shipped.
We then have—	Per ton.
Interest on capital.....	\$0 60
Royalty, say.....	0 12
Mining and shipping, adding 10 cts. to the 75 cts. per ton, before shown	0 85
Whole cost of production.....	\$1 67
Wholesale price.....	1 90.4
Nett profit.....	33.4

It does not appear that the royalty paid is accurately known; if it were  $37\frac{1}{2}$  cents, it would correspond nearly with the *rent* of the Pennsylvania coal operators, and there would be left 79 cents.

It is, however, believed that the Association has a margin of profit left which allow them to reduce their rates whenever the course of business renders it expedient, and it is thought that they not unfrequently sell on terms more favorable than their nominal rates.

The quantity of coal sent to market from Pictou, since 1813 up to 1850, is stated to be 1,400,000 tons. The following table gives some further statistics:

*Coal imported into the United States.*

Period of importation.	Imported from British America.		Imported from England, Scotland, and Ireland.		Total.		Rate of duty.
	Tons.	Value.	Tons.	Value.	Tons.	Value.	
Year ending—							
June 30, 1843..	18,185	\$28,734	846	\$3,680	41,168	\$116,312	\$1 75 per ton.
" " 1844..	51,196	115,906	742	3,487	87,073	286,968	" "
" " 1845..	58,297	123,975	275	1,226	85,776	223,919	" "
" " 1846..	95,390	195,452	2,189	6,549	156,853	378,597	" "
" " 1847..	92,186	194,173	801	1,853	148,021	370,985	80 per cent.
" " 1848..	153,123	312,294	771	3,037	196,251	461,140	" "

Of late years several favorable changes have occurred in the position of the Mining Association; the modification of the tariff in 1846; the ware-housing act; the release of the Association from some of the crown dues, and the acquirement of a charter.

On account of her position Nova Scotia enjoys a much more temperate climate than belongs in general to her high northern latitude, being almost surrounded by the sea, and near to the moderated waters of the Gulf Stream. The demand for labor in mining and other pursuits has prevented the progress of agriculture in the British Provinces, but the soil is capable of yielding more than it has been made to produce. The potato is much improved by the rapid ripening during the short summer of Nova Scotia—oats, rye, barley, and summer wheat also ripen perfectly, turnips and other leguminous plants thrive admirably. The British fisheries need no mention. The country bordering on the St. John's river is well adapted to settlement and cultivation, the soil is excellent and produces large crops. The demand for food in the provinces is, however, much beyond the supply raised upon the soil.

In the whole, the Province of Nova Scotia and adjoining parts, may be pronounced extraordinarily rich in natural wealth; and were these regions a part of the United States, there is little doubt that enterprise, untrammelled by monopoly, would develop their immense resources. The exclusive



rights enjoyed by the mining Association are represented to be the great depressing influence which weighs like an incubus upon the prosperity of Nova Scotia.

It has been supposed by many that the reciprocity treaty would have an injurious effect upon the coal trade of the United States, but whilst our sea-board towns are open to the coal of Nova Scotia, (where, as we have seen the importation is not directly injurious to our coal trade,) there is a corresponding advantage which should not be overlooked. Canada has no coal along her whole frontier, and should the reciprocity treaty develop the industry of that colony as much as is supposed by those who fear the operation of the treaty, it is hardly to be doubted that the mines of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and finally of more western States, will find a profitable market. The balance of trade in coal may reasonably be hoped to turn largely in our favor.

#### ART. III.—AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL SOCIETY.

THIS association, established several years since in New York, is now engaged in the most active services calculated to advance in our country the very much neglected branches of geographical and statistical science. Its founders and promoters deserve the thanks of the friends of true science throughout this land. Statistics will never rise to the dignity of science among us until our public functionaries realize that they mean something more than the mere aggregating of figures, which any sciolist can direct.

The most notable objects to which attention is directed by the society, are the collection of books and maps of reference; the origination and promotion of explorations and surveys; the preparation of papers, to be read and discussed at the stated meetings; the collection of foreign documents, and the publication of a periodical bulletin of transactions.

As a matter of general interest and of utility in aiding our friends in the distribution of scientific data, we extract from the society's bulletin the list of foreign societies with which it is at present in regular communication:

Royal Geographical Society of London.

Royal Society of London.

Statistical Society of London.

Institute of France, at Paris.

French Society of Universal Statistics, at Paris.

French Society of Geography, Natural History, and Agriculture, at Paris.

National Society of Agriculture, Natural History, and Useful Arts, at Lyons.

Society of Sciences, Agriculture, and Arts of the Lower Rhine, at Strasburg.

Imperial Academy of Sciences, at Vienna.

Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences, at Prague.

Imperial Academy of Sciences, at St. Petersburg.

Royal Academy of Science and Fine Arts, at Brussels.  
 Royal Swedish Academy of Science, at Stockholm.  
 Royal Norwegian University of Christiania.  
 Royal Danish Society of Sciences, at Copenhagen.  
 Royal Bavarian Society of Sciences, at Munich.  
 Royal Society of Sciences, at Göttingen.  
 Geographical Society, at Berlin.  
 Botanical Society of Netherlands, at Leyden.  
 Society of Swiss Antiquities, at Basle.  
 Society of Swiss Antiquities, at Zurich.  
 Commercial Library, at Hamburg.  
 Academy of Science, Letters, and Fine Arts, at Genoa.  
 Practical Academy of Science and Belles-Lettres, at Naples.  
 Astronomical Observatory of the Roman College, at Rome.  
 Senckenberg Society of Natural History, at Frankfort-on-the-Maine.  
 Royal Society, at Edinburgh.  
 Board of Admiralty, at London.  
 Geographical Society of Bombay.  
 Asiatic Society of China, at Hong-Kong.  
 Royal Society of Van Diemen's Land, at Hobartstown.  
 Society Auxiliary to National Industry, at Rio Janeiro.  
 Society for the Advancement of Practical Economy, at Havana.  
 Mexican Society of Geography and Statistics, at Mexico.

The following were the leading subjects discussed during the last year, as exhibited in the bulletin :

SCIENTIFIC ASPECTS OF GEOGRAPHY, BY PROF. GUYOT, OF PRINCETON.—He pointed out how in past geological ages organic life corresponded to the physical state of the world, there being in a succession of eras a modification of the physical conditions, preparatory to a development of the organic ; and it might be inferred that the present state of our globe is preparatory to a higher development of life than has yet occurred in the history of man.

Geographical forms or the shape and disposition of continents, with their gulfs, rivers, mountain chains and deserts, were shown to be subservient to human progress ; of this truth, Asia was offered for analysis as a normal example. It is the largest of the continents and peculiarly fitted to be the starting point of our race. Its physical peculiarities fit it for developing the greatest differences in man ; and no other continent possesses such variety of human nature. The Caucasian, the Chinese, and the Saymoyed may stand as representative of these varieties, possessing every degree of difference as to form, condition, policy and character. Individuality of character is a part of the plan of divine wisdom. It advances and becomes more marked as the consequence of civilization. All prevailing religious systems, and all great inventions have had their birth among the Asiatics.

The geographical divisions of the world correspond with the three great families of tongues ; the Japetion, the Semitic, and the Ethiopian. The Ethiopic race started first in the progress of material civilization. The Semitic has developed religious ideas. The Japetian offers a combination of both characteristics, and is therefore ready to sympathize with, and carry on, both.

There are four great alluvial plains, each with its sacred river. The Nile, the Euphrates, the Ganges, and the Hoangho. On these plains,

where labour produced abundant food, civilization in different forms had its early seats. It has now come, with advanced power over nature to occupy the shores over the ocean; the whole globe being filled with the manifestations of the plans of the Deity.

Contemplating, therefore, the subjects thus presented to our view, their greatness, their interest, and their bearing on the life, progress and character of man, we may well assert that geography has scientific aspects of a high rank as to its objects and their importance.

USEFUL OBSERVATIONS WHICH MAY BE MADE IN TRAVELING, INDEPENDENTLY OF THE USE OF INSTRUMENTS.—Dr. Adamson illustrated the advantages of acquiring the habit of estimating distances, altitudes or angles on the earth, the horizon, or the heavens, explaining the sources of the errors to which we are liable in such estimates, such as the apparent expansion of angular distances at the horizon to about two and a half times the extent they seem to have near the zenith. It was pointed out in what modes angular distances may be determined approximately. Thus, among mariners, a *sail's-breadth* is the horizon space covered by the foresail as seen by the steersman about thirty-two degrees; a *hand's-breadth* is the horizon space covered by the breadth of the hand, or the four fingers, when the arm is extended and the hand bent at right angles to it. This will be about eight degrees. A number of simple practical rules were given by which the estimated distance of objects might be determined with considerable accuracy; and the traveller thus be enabled, without the aid of instruments, or the detention consequent upon their use, to give desirable information to the geographer.

The Recording Secretary has read also two of a proposed series of Reports on the Progress of Geographical Knowledge. The first related chiefly to the efforts of American explorers and writers as noticed in the last Annual Report of the Geographical Society of Paris. The second reviewed various observations and deductions regarding the instability of the shores of continents. He read in connection with the same subject, a paper on November 19th, regarding "Earthquake Observations."

In this paper an analysis was given of the experiments by Robert Mallet, C. E., as presented in the Report of the British Association for the advancement of science for 1851, showing that the estimate there given as to the maximum velocity of the vibratory concussion produced by the explosion of gunpowder, as in blasting rocks, which is stated to be 1664.5 feet per second, appeared to be ascertained unobjectionably; but that the minimum, stated to be 825 feet per second, as transmitted through the loose sand of a sea beach, was less satisfactory; inasmuch as there was no measuring or eliminating the influence of the more solid stuff on which, as an unknown and probably variable depth, the sand rested. He inferred also that little confidence could be placed in the measurements hitherto attempted as to the velocity of an earthquake impulse, inasmuch as the elements of main value in the estimate, which are the exact locality of the origin and the true direction of the impulse, have rested under such obscurity. He urged therefore the necessity, in order to elucidate these stupendous

movements of the earth's crust, which seems to be at all times somewhere under the influence of such tremors, that observations be made at numerous points, by means of appropriate instruments; or that the earth be watched, as is the atmosphere by the meteorologist. He indicated how this could be done with probably little trouble. He indicated further that cosmical influences, affecting differently the rotation of the earth's crust, and of masses in the interior, might present slowly-acting but continuous and periodical causes of such phenomena.

ON THE FUTURE OF THE GREAT NATURAL DIVISIONS OF NORTH AMERICA DEDUCIBLE FROM THEIR GEOLOGY AND PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY, BY PROFESSOR ROGERS.—The continent, he pointed out, is, if the peninsula of Florida and some other small irregularities be excluded, a spherical triangle, of which one side, along the Pacific, is in length five thousand miles; the Arctic side is three thousand five hundred, and the Atlantic side is three thousand seven hundred. There are on it two axes of elevation; one along the Apalachian, and the other the Rocky mountains. There stretches across the continent, from Labrador to California a great swell or watershed. There are thus produced four slopes, containing eight river basins. Those which comprise the rivers of the Arctic ocean and of Hudson's bay are united by navigable streams. Three latter connects with the St. Lawrence by a portage of ten miles. This is the true northwest passage. He illustrated the character of the Mississippi basin, and of those on the western side of the continent. The great oceanic currents sweep along the shores, one southward, on the Pacific side; another from the Arctic ocean into the Atlantic, and the third from the tropics along the eastern shores. The meeting of these last two was chiefly the cause of the variableness of our climate. We have on the line from the Arctic ocean to the Mexican Gulf a most rapid transition, the polar climate being brought into proximity with the equatorial. There were thus afforded the productions of all latitudes, as means of subsistence and materials for art.

The Arctic current had been contended with in vain by explorers from the Eastward. Such attempts should be made from the West, favored by the current. The point of minimum temperature vibrates over a line stretching from a point in the north of Siberia to another on our northern coast. The cold end is with us in summer, the mean temperature of that season there being only three degrees.

The mineral riches of the region are varied, abundant, and valuable. Coal occurs over a superficial extent of two hundred thousand square miles; the other regions of the world affording, as far as is known, a very small proportion compared with this. Iron and other metals are also abundant.

OUR WESTERN MOUNTAINS.—The more easterly and the grander of these ranges or the central spine of the continent, Dr. Antisell remarks, should not in any part be considered as a single chain; but as a series of parallel chains, including elevated valleys, and separated to some extent from each other, by low swelling grounds forming the import-

ant mountain passes. The numbers of these parallel chains increase as we pass south, until in latitudes thirty-four and thirty-six, where the Rocky mountains are widest, as many as six distinct chains running north and south may be traced. In latitude thirty-three degrees, the valleys for five hundred miles across the continent, have an elevation approaching five thousand feet, and in this latitude the valleys between the mountains are not slopes but level plains. The country appears as if the depressions between these chains had been filled up even with the summits of the hills, while as yet they were under water, and the fine sand sifted, so as to give a floor perfectly even and smooth, and that it is not in fact the whole mountain which we see, but merely the crest of the range, peeping up here and there, above the depths of an accumulated ancient alluvial deposit; and, finally, that the successive ranges, from east to west, are but so many crests protruding up from a common granitic basis.

The greatest breadth of the range is in thirty-six and thirty-seven degree latitudes, where it measures eight degrees across, narrowing to four degrees in the British possessions, and to nearly six degrees it enters Mexico. Where its width is greatest, its altitude is also greatest. Owing to its altitude the winter temperatures are severe, and the summers are deficient in a supply of rain; this being either not sufficient in quantity, or not falling at the favorable season to support grass or herbage. Hence the interior of the continent is a desert everywhere, except in the narrow bottoms along the large rivers.

On the western ranges, the slopes towards the Pacific are generally more gentle than those towards the interior. In the Cascade range there are few passes, and none of them very low, few being less than 3500 feet or half the average height of the chain. To the east of it are flat basaltic plains, covered with volcanic debris, where, from the influence of the mountain on the prevailing winds, the atmosphere is remarkably clear and dry. On the west or Pacific slope every thing is reversed; the air is moist, rain abundant, streams numerous and copious. Where the Cascade mountains terminate, the Sierra Nevada commences, though the ranges are not to be considered as being continuous; the more northerly being volcanic, while it cannot be said that the Sierra Nevada contains a single mountain bearing evidence of volcanic origin. In the south its altitude above the desert level is very great, but as this level extends northwards, its altitude increases, so that in ascending to the valley of the Humboldt river to enter California, the Sierra constitutes a series of high plateaux or parks with low hills forming their margins.

The great basin is not, as its name implies, a trough cut deeply below the level of its boundaries on either side, but is rather a series of elevated steppes, each steppe made up of valleys of limited extent, partially bounded by short ranges of hills running north and south; round the extremities of which one valley opens into another. The Humboldt river being formed wholly by snows from the mountains, and not deriving water from affluents in its downward course, soon loses itself in the parched soil at Mud Lake. The other rivers of the basin diminish as they flow onwards, until under the influence of



evaporation and absorption, they finally disappear. On account of the deficiency of moisture there are no trees on the plains, and but little of forest on the mountain ranges. Grass is scanty; and a thorny vegetation of humble growth forms the vegetable life of the upper steppe of the basin; while in the lower levels, or towards the Colorado deserts, the drought is greater, and the valleys have grass only on the river bottoms.

Of the individual peaks of the Sierra Nevada, Dr. Hunt introduces us to "the grand solitary shaft, piercing the sky with its silvery cone three miles high above the level of the Sacramento valley, at the head of which it stands, and down the whole length of which it pours its ever melting snows." This writer also notices the abundant and numerous hot springs of California, especially those called the "Geysers" near Napa, and a few miles south of Clear Lake, where "in the bed and on the banks of a mountain creek, and within an area of ten acres, one thousand springs (more or less) boil up over the surface. They are of different degrees of temperature, some only tepid, while others flow at boiling heat." "From one place," says Dr. Hunt, "which I attempted to reach in vain, it issued with the noise and volume of an ordinary steamer blowing off at a wharf." He also notices the fountains of Asphaltum, which substance is put practically to use in various ways.

Dr. Hunt also speaks of the abundant forests, which adorn and enrich the countries north of San Francisco, with the gigantic size of their trees, especially in Callaveras county, about seventy-five miles east of Stockton, where are some sixty or eighty of different size, the larger measuring twenty to thirty feet in diameter, six feet from the base, and towering up to the height of three hundred feet. This species has not been found anywhere else.

ROUTES FOR THE PACIFIC RAILROAD, BY COL. GILPIN.—The North American continent has three main divisions: 1st, the great calcareous plain including the basins of the Mississippi, St. Lawrence, Hudson's Bay streams, and Mackenzie's river, containing four-sevenths of the whole. 2d, the great mountain-plateau included between the Sierra Nevada de los Andes and the Sierra Madre, containing two-sevenths. 3d, the two half-vallies, or ocean shore slopes, on the Atlantic and the Pacific, containing one-seventh of the whole. The western mountains intercept the rains, and are snow-covered. The elevated plains receive little. An irregular line, stretching diagonally across the continent, from Lake Erie, south-west, bounds the country, where rains are abundant, so as to sustain forests. Another, about three hundred and seventy miles to the north-west, nearly parallel, bounds the country, where the rains are enough to nourish tall grasses; this is the region of prairie lands. Another, about the same distance farther north-west, bounds the lands of short woolly grasses, the bison or buffalo plains. A fourth includes the dry, rainless region of Artemisia and Cacti.

The second region or plateau is included by the mountain ranges which part or separate into two, south of Mexico. They are connected by five cross ridges, running from south to north. One in-

cludes the Mexican valley, having no outlet. The next includes the basin of Lake Chapala, of which the waters break out to the Pacific. The third bounds the region of the Rio del Norte, which issues by a long narrow gorge. The fourth includes the great Salt Lake in an interior basin. The fifth bends around the Columbia.

Except the gorge of the Rio del Norte, there is no break in the Sierra Madre. The Gila escapes into the Colorado by a similar opening. The mountain ranges in that region are impracticable.

There is, in fact, no pass by which the parallel Cordilleras can be crossed until we reach the basin of the Arkansas.

At this point occurs the South Pass, where the Eastern Cordillera has disappeared, or, by a deflection, has sloped away into the eastern plains, opening a wide gap for about thirty miles, the crest of which has about the mean altitude of the whole plateau. Here the slope up to the mountain plateau, commencing at the Mississippi, is regular on a line tolerably straight. Not long after reaching this highest elevation the descent commences towards the Pacific. Ranges are interposed between it and California in a direct line. The descent winds away to the north-west, reaching the basin of the Columbia, and following the course of that river.

In regard to the apprehended impediments to continuous transit over this line from accumulations of snow, observations had determined that there were no such accumulations. The course of the winds, and the character of the elevation to the westward prevented them. America was so placed in regard to the other continents of the world, that in the future it may be expected that the main line of commerce will be across our territory; while every material needful for art, and every production desirable from agriculture, abounded upon its surface.

**CLIMATOLOGY OF THE UNITED STATES.**—A discourse on the climatology of the United States was delivered by Prof. Lorin Blodgett, of Washington. He exhibited upon maps the hyetal condition of the continent and the course followed by the isothermic curves, calling attention especially to the remarkable inflections of these lines along the eastern slopes of the Rocky mountains, and to the fact that temperature in its relation to height above the sea followed there an unusual law, the same thermal mean prevailing over a great extent of altitude. Thus, at Fort Laramie, which is four thousand five hundred feet above the sea-level, the mean temperature is the same as at New York city.

The interior plateau declines in altitude towards the north, and the measure of heat is fully as great on the Saskatchewan as at Fort Massachusetts in New Mexico, so that the northern districts are more cultivatable and more practicable for routes of transit to the Pacific.

Near Vancouver's Island we have the peculiarities of the climate of the British Islands reproduced, and though the area under this influence is less than in the old continent, yet circumstances will tend to establish there the seats of commercial activity. The coast of California exhibits a singularly cold summer, of even a lower temperature than its spring and autumn, due to a cold ocean current from the north-



west. To that, southwards, succeed the soft vine-bearing conditions of Southern Europe, leading, in the same direction, to a region like the desert belt of the Old World.

In the north, and over the northern plains, rain is equally distributed throughout the year, and is moderate in quantity. On the north-west coast it is very abundant. On the west coast it is small in quantity, and generally periodical; meagre in the desert, but falling in almost tropical profusion on regions bordering the Mexican Gulf. In this last instance the correspondence is with the North of India, though portions of this region offer really tropical conditions. The configuration of the surface seems rarely to influence the quantity. He characterized the influence of our climate generally on vegetation as that of rapid development; and proceeded to trace the relation between the climatology of the regions referred to and their vegetable productions.

The views of Professor Blodgett have subsequently been given to the world in a volume published during the summer. Discussions or controversies which may arise regarding the positions therein stated will be of public interest; and will, without doubt, tend to advance our knowledge of these very important subjects.

**BAYOUS OF THE MISSISSIPPI, BY PROF. ERASTUS EVERETT, OF NEW ORLEANS.**—The term Bayou is applied to three classes of streams. 1st, to branches of rivers or brooks of the ordinary character. 2d, to streams rising on the banks of the Mississippi, and thence diverging to the east or west. 3d, to such outlets of the river as are at some distance from its principal mouths. The delta of the Mississippi is as level as the ocean, all the way from its mouth to the heights at Baton Rouge, which rise to about eighty feet. Its stream flows along the summit of a ridge, which increases in elevation and extends in width, as we ascend to the mouth of the Red river; so that the declivity is nearly the same over the whole distance. The river has great regularity in its sinuosities, these occupying on an average the space of ten miles, and giving to the Indians a rude measure of distances. Such bendings give origin to the second class of Bayous mentioned above, inasmuch as the sinuosity of the ridge sustaining the river, has its slopes directed to a central point or line, and thus forms a valley, the drainage of which necessarily falls away from the river. Each peninsula round which the river in these circumstances forms a bend, has thus an interior bayou, the waters of which are cut off from the river by the enveloping ridge, and reach the swampy land on a level with the Gulf.

Those of the 3d class take their departure from the river itself, generally at the concave apex of a bend; or they are outlets of the river, forming along their courses ridges, as it does. These ridges remain permanent, indicating the locality and direction of bayous which have been closed up. When it is low water in the parent stream, bayous of this class are in general dry. At the season of overflow they rushed along like mountain torrents, acting as safety valves to the principal deluge. To obstruct or fill them up is therefore attended with danger, as forcing the river to find an outlet by destructive crevasses.

Most of these natural outlets have been closed; and the process is constantly going on. The land is thus reclaimed for cultivation, but at the risk of overflows. From lands early cultivated the alluvion which used to spread over them is now excluded, and is carried down to be deposited where the tides of the Gulf check the current, so that the shore is carried outwards at the rate of about ten rods annually.

Drainage along the slope of the levee is easy. The vast resources of Louisiana are confined to these slopes, cultivation reaching not more than one mile from the river. It may be extended to the distance of ten or twelve miles, and the aspect of the country become similar to that of Holland, requiring the same watchfulness for its preservation, but with an immense addition to the productive power of the region.

**COLUMBUS' VOYAGE.**—A paper was introduced by Mr. Thrasher, of Washington city, "On the route of Columbus in his first voyage along the shores of Cuba," being chiefly a translation of an essay by Don José G. De Arboleda of Havana. In this memoir several facts of great importance are noticed which tend to give precision to our speculations regarding a most important era in the history of the world. Among these we may notice the opinion, which for the reasons given we may assume to be a fact, that Columbus did not, in his statement of distances, use the common maritime league of the more northern navigators, and of our time but that which was then the common Spanish standard measure, and which is still retained in Cuba. This is equivalent to five thousand varas or yards, and would give a shorter league than has hitherto been employed in reasoning on the subject in the proportion of three to four, or one to one-and-a-third. Assuring this to have been the measure used by Columbus, we find that the distances given in his journal come out into satisfactory agreement with ascertained measurements; as for instance, when he announces the distance from St. Domingo to Cuba to be eighteen leagues. By the common league the measure is only thirteen-and-a-half, but by the other or Cuban one, is eighteen exactly.

With this proviso, very strong reasons are given for varying greatly from the determinations of the historian Navarrete, mentioned in the journal with respect to the points, bays, and islands.

**INDIA.**—The Recording Secretary directed attention to India, in respect to its ethnology, languages and institutions.

Two races, he remarked, may be considered as mainly constituting the population of that country. The older or Dravickian are reckoned to be of the Mongolian stock, speaking languages related to the Tartarian. As a subjugated or supplanted race they constitute inferior castes. Though now retaining nationality and separate languages only south of the Vindhyan range, they must at one time have occupied the whole peninsula. Brahminism may be considered as the characteristic of the other great race, which spoke a Japetian tongue developed in the classical Sanscrit. The teachers or priests and the soldiers of this intruding race constitute the highest castes. In older eras the separation of these two orders of men was less distinct than it became in the age of systematic Hinduism.

Caste is the result of circumstances in a certain stage of society, when there is little security and scanty means of instruction and intercourse, inventions become property and tend to be guarded and transmitted hereditarily. No where else has the institution been so systematized as in India.

Religion among that Brahminic people was originally pure theism. Attempts to comprehend and to represent the unconditioned led by a natural process to monstrous extravagances through the literal interpretation of figures and emblems. In such efforts, however, the mind was aiming to seize great truths, and in dealing with the Hindoo understanding it, would appear to be preferable to clear away the vicious traditionalary incumbrances under which these truths have been buried, and to present them pure to the popular intellect. They give lessons, which may have been especially needed when first called forth, and are valuable still, as enforcing self restraint in the individual, and favoring mutual forbearance.

The late appalling turmoil in that country has shown how little the systems or the races there established, can be confided in for the revival of society there, or for the defense of the country, so that we can look only to external agencies for the sources of its regeneration.

AFRICA.—Dr. J. C. Adamson, delivered before the society a lecture on the physical characteristics and ethnology of South Africa. He remarked, that the laws regulating the climate, impressed upon it a considerable degree of regularity; the winds in winter being generally from the ocean to the westward, bringing the rains on which the country depended for its support of life, and thus giving it a share of the superabundant moisture of the tropical regions; while the summer winds were generally from the colder seas to the south, and therefore came upon the land dry and parching, but healthy.

In attending to the general character of the vegetation of that region some interesting laws came into view. Its aspects to a visitant would appear strangely beautiful and varied, though there was a deficiency of fertile soil. The structure of plants was accommodated to the aridity of the climate. Many proteas had the planes of their leaves set vertically, as occurred in the vegetation of Australia, so that the intensity of the sun's rays affected them less. A great proportion of the pelargoniums and such like plants had thick tuberous roots; and the bulbs of the iridæ and lilacæ were often defended by a thick coating of fibrous or scale material. In the higher and peculiarly arid regions toward the interior, the leaves and stems were generally succulent, with a thick epidermis.

It would be noticed that though the species distributed in the various positions and aspects of the territory were different from those of the Northern hemisphere, yet there were strong analogies in the structure and appearance of those which occupied analogous places in nature; so that their forms recalled the fact of their having analogous offices to fulfill.

A botanist, in order that he might not be deceived as to the relative abundance of species, would need to be aware of the fact, that in this respect there was often a great amount of apparently capricious varia-

tion, individuals of some species being excessively numerous in some seasons, and in others comparatively rare. The relative abundance and the vigorous growth of shrubby plants was greatly influenced by the character of the rocks with which their deeply penetrating roots came into contact; and as the rock formations stretched over great distances with a rectilineal strike, it would be observed among the mountains, or in looking from them upon the plains, that higher hedge-like lines of stronger plants followed the direction of the more porous rocks. A very interesting variation in the general appearance of the vegetation during the spring time, or season of blossoms, was pointed out on a short botanical excursion by F. Zeyher. Soon after sunrise, the white starry *ixiadæ*, and a few yellows, such as the golden-flowered divisions of the *geissorhizas*, were pre-eminently conspicuous. As the sun rose, the reds both of the monocotyledons and of the oxalides became profusely intermingled with them. Under the bright meridian sun the blues broke out in rich abundance, and then all, intermingled with the bright green of the leaves, gave combinations of color richer and more harmonious than art ever produced. This process, indicating the effect of the sun's rays on petals of different colors, was reversed in the after-part of the day, so that conclusions formed by a traveler as to the botanical character of the districts through which he passed might, if he depended on cursory observations, lead him wide of the truth.

Corresponding to the uniformity of the climate over the year, the vegetation of the thickets and forests has no winter dress. The trees are evergreen, and of slow growth. There is an analogy to this in the character of animal life. It is especially the country of antelopes, swift, and ranging widely, so as to get subsistence where food grows scantily. All have persistent horns. There are none of the cervine races, whose horns drop off as the leaves of our deciduous forests.

Two great races of men met and strove in that region before the European intruded upon them. There is the Eastern negro or Zambesian, a cultivator, with a home to defend, and, therefore, having union and government. It is this race which speaks the alliteral language, spread over the south of the African continent, from the Equator to the Cape. Thrust onwards before them, as they came from the northeast, the Hottentot or Gariepine race was met by Europeans landing on the southwestern promontory. The Gariepine people speak a tongue of different order. They are a nomade people, with much of the personal independence due to that mode of life, which does not depend on cultivation of the soil, but on flocks and herds. Intermingled with the other race, they form the Kafir, possessing somewhat of the characteristics of both. A small and rapidly vanishing division of the Gariepine or Hottentot race is the Soa, or Bushman. He lived by hunting or by plunder, and was universally regarded and pursued as an enemy. Exposure to danger and privation have reduced him to a dwarf.

If we trace out the affiliations of the language spoken by the Hottentot and Bushman, we shall find it to be related to that of the Galla, the Abyssinian, and the old monument building Egyptian. One great race, properly the Ethiopic, seems to have occupied the interior spine

of Africa. Their tongues have stronger Semitic relationships than any found in those of the great Zambesian race, but the languages of both have specialities peculiar to them as a whole, and bearing a strong analogy to the tongues of the Japetian order. It is not improbable that the Mpangwes of the Gaboon, the Foulahs, or Felatahs of the Nigritian plains, and other tribes, who possess less normally a negro character, are related to this more central race, and thus, that in the ethnology of Africa, eliminating the influence of its Mediterranean division, there are offered the repellent masses, or the struggling and intermingling streams of two great races.

LATE NEW YORK CENSUS, BY DR. HOUGH.—He remarked that the United States presented the first instance in history of the establishment of regular periods for taking a census; that seven years was in 1777 adopted as the interval; but this was subsequently extended to ten years; that the monarchies of Europe had at a later date, in movements of the same kind, adopted also the decennial period.

Twelve whole or partial enumerations of this State took place under the colonial administration of England, from 1698 to 1771. These occurred at irregular periods, varying from three to twenty years. They represent the progress of population in the colony during that interval as being from 18,067 to 163,337; and the city of New York as having advanced from 4,937 to 21,862. The annual rate of increase varied from 0.21 per cent. up to 6.36 per cent., the former occurring in the period from 1737 to 1746, and the other from 1746 to 1749. The actual increase during the first-mentioned period was 1,152, and during the other was 11,759, the longer interval of nine years giving only one-tenth of the amount as compared with the shorter interval of three years.

During the period of sixty-three years the relative proportions of white and colored inhabitants remained nearly constant; the latter being designated "slaves."

In 1774, the estimate of the population is given at—

Whites.....	161,098
Colored.....	21,199

In 1786, the census gave—

Whites.....	219,956
Slaves.....	18,929

In the sixty-five years since 1790, the State has increased in population seven-fold, the city twenty-fold, the United States on the whole six-fold.

The returns show that the increase of population in agricultural districts soon reaches a limit to rapid augmentation, and then advances slowly. Thus our interior and western countries have increased very rapidly for a time after their first settlement; but are now nearly stationary. The introduction of commerce and manufactures modifies this proceeding, and leads to a start of augmented population. The city of New York and its dependencies now include above a million; and it is impossible to prognosticate what may be its increase in resources and influence in the future.



Previous to this census the returns gave an excess of males in the population, as will be generally the case in a region receiving immigration. In the periods embraced by our periodical returns, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island have uniformly shown an excess of females. This has been the case with New Hampshire since 1790, with North Carolina since 1820, with Delaware since 1840, Vermont since 1820, and the District of Columbia since 1810. In New York and in New England generally, there is now an excess of females.

In the middle or adult ages of life, this excess is greater than among the older and younger. Females live to a greater age. In the city, of individuals above one hundred years, there are ten females, but no males. In the State, the numbers who have reached this age are forty-one males, and fifty females. The extreme of age known is one hundred and twenty years.

The proportion of those born in different regions stand as follows :

In the city, those born in New York State amount to 262,156 ; those born in the United States, amount to 303,721 ; those born in England, to 22,731 ; in Scotland, 8,487 ; in Ireland, 175,735 ; in Germany, 95,986 ; in Prussia, 1,586 ; in Poland, 1,200. Or, of the city's inhabitants, there were born in it..... 64.075 per 100  
In the United States ..... 72.903 per 100  
Foreign..... 26.585 per 100

In illustrating the modes in which immigrants landing on our shores dispose of themselves, we find that there remain in the city of the English, 22.19 ; Prussian, 24.9 ; Scottish, 30.85 ; Irish, 35.1 ; Poles, 77.77 per 100.

As to the conditions of life there are in the State—

Unmarried.....	60.08 per 100
Married.....	35.15 " "
Widowers.....	1.02 " "
Widows.....	2.75 " "

In Great Britain of these classes are unmarried—

Males.....	63.12 " "
Females.....	60.35 " "
Married males.....	29.33 " "
Females.....	22.24 " "

As to habitations, it is found that for each dwelling in the city there are 14.79 persons ; in the State, 6.64 ; in the United States, 5.94. As compared with preceding eras, these numbers have been on the increase.

Of families, each in the city contains on an average 4.97 persons ; in the State, 5.23 persons. These numbers appear to be on the decrease.

The value of dwellings stand thus : in the city they average \$6,409 in value, and in total \$273,481,811 ; the average value in the State is \$1,351 ; total value, \$664,899,967.

Of persons who cannot read and write, there were in the city, 3.41 per 100 white, and 12.07 per 100 colored ; in the United States, of such persons, the proportions are 4.92 per 100 white, and 20.13 colored.

The dumb persons in the State amount to 1,422 ; blind, 1,136 ; insane, 2,742 ; and idiots, 1,812.

These details the society will observe are of the greatest value and importance, not only as affording cases of the most interesting comparisons, in regard to different regions and times; not only as developing the sources and the amount of national power, but as aiding us to unveil the moral state of vast communities, and to trace the causes of the deepest evils which oppress society, or the sources of general prosperity and happiness.

On Thursday, 19th March, a paper on "The condition of Benevolent Societies among the laboring classes, as developed by their statistics," was read by James Wynne, M. D.

BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES, BY DR. WYNNE.—No subjects of investigation coming under our review, offers results in which our well-being is more involved than those which relate to the probabilities of life and health in the different conditions and circumstances which society presents. The arguments were intended to bear upon the usual modes of making provision for seasons of ill health, so as to guard against the dangers to which associations for this purpose have generally exposed themselves. It presents us, therefore, with estimates of the proportionate numbers of days' sickness which may be expected at different ages, and in different lines of life, and the average length of life in different avocations. Some of these it will be interesting to recapitulate.

The liability to disease (it was stated) increases with great rapidity as life advances. While among a given number of persons, whose ages range from twenty-five to thirty-five, the average amount of sickness in each year is less than one week; among those between fifty-five and sixty-five, it will have increased to four weeks; and among those who have attained the mature age of sixty-five to seventy-five, it will have risen to from eight to twelve weeks.

It is in regard to this subject, however, worthy of remark, that very inexplicable differences are found in the estimates given by different observers. Finlaison, who conducted inquiries of this sort at the instance of the British government, makes the average amount of sickness in the age from sixty-five to seventy-five to be in weeks, 6.76; while Neilson, the Actuary of a leading office in London, gives the higher estimate of 14.77; and Williamson, of Alabama, who analyzed the data on the subject procured from the lodges of Odd Fellows in this country, assigns the intermediate proportion of 8.39 weeks.

The probabilities of living over a certain number of years vary greatly among men of different avocations, in proportions which have been frequently stated and were illustrated, in detail.

The results which observation has attained, are full of warning to all who are connected with mutual benefit or assurance societies of any form. Mr. Williamson remarks in regard to the Associations of Odd Fellows, "that they number upwards of 193,000 members, scattered over every portion of our common Union." "They thus can furnish the experience of nearly 200,000 years of human life in a single year," so as to ascertain "the precise amount of sickness and mortality that shall occur at every year of age, over that vast circle of human experience." And yet, (it is remarked,) with those facts before them, and the lively, nay, vital interest which they have in their correct

tabulation, their body is doomed to inevitable and speedy dissolution. They have, up to the present time, failed to bestow upon this subject that attention which its importance and the interests of humanity demand.

**MONEY, BY MR. CAREY.**—In this lecture he noticed the physical character of the precious metals and their mode of distribution in nature, as corresponding to the distinctive character of man and his necessities, so that they become indispensable instruments of commercial association and effort. Hence the price of commodity is to be considered as being its power to command money in exchange. Prices so defined fluctuate according to fixed laws in regard to place and time.

At the Rocky mountains one thousand tons of rags would not exchange for the smallest silver coin; whereas a quire of paper would be equivalent in value to one ounce of that metal. Descending the mountain slopes to the plains and settlements of Kansas, we should find that the price of the rags, estimated in silver, would exchange for many reams of paper. As we advanced onward from west to east, rags would command a still greater equivalent of silver and paper a less, or their relative values would approximate more and more until in the heart of Massachusetts three pounds of rags would command more than the equivalent of one pound of paper. This illustrates the law, that the price of raw material tends to rise as we approach the places where there is association for labor and accumulation of wealth.

The prices of finished commodities move in a direction precisely the reverse. They decline as raw materials advance in price. These tend to approximate, as the power derived from association becomes productive of wealth; the highest price of the one being found accompanying the lowest price of the other. This movement of approximation, in their exchangeable values, is the most conclusive proof of advancing civilization.

The same results meet our view as we look backwards in time. A quantity of silk, which at the close of the fifteenth century cost twenty-five francs, can be purchased now for one and a half; while about three francs was at that time the cost of entertaining royally eight persons. Four quires of paper would then command in silver the value of a hog, and two reams would be equivalent to that of an ox. The more finished a commodity is, the greater is the certainty that it will fall in price. These are natural results of the power of association among men. The instrument to which they are most indebted for this power is money.

Commodities tend to go where their relative value is highest. Raw materials, therefore, are attracted to those places where the power of combination is most developed, and in which consequently land or labor rise in price. The precious metals which are the materials for exchanges, follow the same tendency. There, also, the most finished commodities are cheapest. The facility of using the precious metals for their chief purpose gives ease and power in the operation of individual demeanor and enterprise, and gives power to associations for great purposes.

## ART. IV.—PROTEST AGAINST THE SLAVE-TRADE REVIVAL.\*

(CONCLUDED.)

NUMBER TO BE IMPORTED—THEIR CHARACTER—EFFECT UPON EXISTING SLAVES—UPON MASTERS—UPON THE STATE—EXPERIENCE OF HISTORY—THE MILITARY POINT OF VIEW—INCREASE OF SLAVE POPULATION—EARLY LEGISLATION REGULATING THE SLAVE-TRADE—RESOLUTIONS RECOMMENDED.

In the first place, consider the number of Africans which it will be necessary to import for the attainment of any given end—take the end proposed; the reduction in the price of slave staples, (which will include the one of increasing the amount of slave labor,) and suppose it be desirable to decrease these prices any given ratio, say one-half. Now, the number of slaves in the United States is about four millions. As it is necessary, of course, to double the amount of labor, the importation of at least an equal number of Africans from Guinea will be required. But as we have already seen, the increase of labor in this case is not proportionate to the increase of laborers. From what the undersigned has seen in the West Indies, coinciding with the experience of those who have had better opportunities of comparing American slaves with native Africans, the conclusion drawn of one-half in favor of the superior efficiency of the former is not too great; one-third is certainly within bounds; three Americans are surely equal to four Africans; the number then to be imported will be  $\frac{4}{3}$  of four millions. The value of our slaves, in a more industrial point of view, will also be depreciated by contamination at least  $\frac{1}{4}$ , equal to one million, which will require an additional importation of  $\frac{4}{3}$  of one million, in all, equal to  $\frac{4}{3}$  of four millions, added to  $\frac{4}{3}$  of one million. Nor is this all. We have seen that labor is but one of the elements of price; to reduce the price of any article one-half, it is necessary to reduce the cost, not only of one, but all its elements. Now we have seen that the slave-trade will not effect the first element, the land, nor to any great extent the third, the transportation, but only the second, the labor. It follows, then, that the effect produced by the slave-trade upon this last element must not only be equal to one-half of itself, but also compensate for its inefficiency as to the other two. It is difficult to express the result in figures, because the statistics do not furnish the means of ascertaining the proportion contributed to the price by each element; but two-fifths would

\* It may as well be observed, in concluding the publication of Mr. Pettigrew's report, that the whole subject is still before the Legislature of South Carolina, and that it promises still to be a fruitful theme for discussion.—(EDITOR.)

scarcely be too great a proportion for the land and transportation, leaving three-fifths for the labor alone. The reduction upon this 2-5 (equal to 2-3 of the labor element) is to be accomplished by the same means, that is an additional importation of 2-3 of 4 millions of American slaves will be required, which, by the previous calculation, is equal to 4-3 of 2-3 of 4 millions of Africans. Hence the grand total of importation to accomplish a reduction of 1-2 in the price of slave staples will be 4-3 of 4 millions, plus 4-3 of 1 million, plus 4-3 of 2-3 of 4 millions, equal to 10 2-9 millions. This result will doubtless be surprising to those who are in the habit of reasoning loosely on such subject and of considering political problems as involving only one condition, and to be solved by simple arithmetic alone, whereas the calculus would be a much more suitable instrument of investigation. Not that the undersigned believes for a moment that the project would go thus far—quite the contrary; he has given the measure the benefit of every possible contingency, of supposing that the action of the laws of trade upon this commerce would be healthy, and that the decrease in the price of the product would be proportional only to the decrease in the cost of production; whereas, long before the cupidity of the King of Dahomey or the philanthropy of the slave trader were satisfied, the market would be glutted, slave labor worthless and an incubus upon the country, the price of its products barely above the point of physical subsistence owing to the necessary competition among producers. We should see again—the times of 1844-'5—cotton down to 5 or 6 cents, the English manufacturer bloated with wealth, and the planter scarcely able to purchase provisions or clothing for his slaves.

Having thus formed some opinion as to the number of Africans, which, it will be necessary to import in order to produce an appreciable effect upon our economical situation, it is advisable next to consider the character of this population, with which the land is to be filled. From the conscientious and respectable Wilberforce down to the "scrub" yankee agitator of the present day, it has been the cant of Abolitionists to dwell upon the native African, as a paragon of all the virtues contained in the human breast; his kindness, humanity, attachment to the domestic ties, have been portrayed in florid colors. This is but the voice of fanaticism; the impartial world cannot be always blind to the truth. In his native land, the African is a barbarian. A faint attempt at society, founded it is true upon the sword, and some notion of the culinary art alone lift him above the savage; in all other important respects they are alike. Even his society is but a series of despotisms; each superior grade being absolute



master of that beneath it; laws and self-control are unknown, and cruelty is esteemed an appropriate manner of manifesting the most elevating emotions—religion, grief, joy for victor. It is needless to refer to the sanguinary “customs” so often described by travelers. Polygamy, theft, violence and falsehood, are virtues; nothing is so ennobling as the gratification of revenge, and the more cruel the means, the more credit to the actor. The shedding of blood is grateful to their God, whose attributes are of the most bestial description. A violent death is the natural and anticipated end of a vicious life. Add to this a dislike of foreigners, as manifested in the assassination of travelers, and we have a faithful picture of negro life at home. Between them and us there is no sympathy, no point of contact; our system of civilization and theirs of barbarism cannot exist side by side, one must yield. In Africa death to the European is the method of reconciling this incompatibility. Such is the population, which, chattering a foreign tongue, is to be distributed in myriads throughout the land.

It cannot be supposed that this vast and novel influx would affect our slaves only in an economical point of view. All history and experience teach that the infusion of an inferior class of beings in the midst of those who, from whatever cause are their superiors, is detrimental. Had not that crowd of wretched foreigners and barbarians flowed into Rome during the latter days of the Republic, and by contamination, corrupted the Roman Plebs., she had never lost her liberties. Her regeneration required the invasion of another race, rude, it is true, but hardy in all the virtues that form the strength of manhood. We have seen the position in the scale of existence occupied by the native African; it is not venturing upon debatable ground to assign a totally different and higher position to the American slave. The foundation of character is doubtless the same, but here every influence is brought to develope its favorable, there its unfavorable side; here his vices are repressed by force, if need be, there they procure him distinction and importance; here he is elevated and sustained by an all-powerful civilization, there the effect of natural barbarism keeps him to a stagnant level. Indeed, so completely has a residence of several generations in a christian land altered his being, that but for his intellectual inferiority, his color, and his want of the power to stand alone, the American slave would scarcely be recognized as of the same race. Labor is no longer so essentially repugnant to his disposition, as to necessitate the continual terror of the lash to force him to its discharge. He feels an interest in the soil upon which he works, and recognizes the solidarity exist-

ing between himself and his owner. He is attached to the family when treated with kindness, is proud of his young master and mistress, and who greeted us on our return home during the school vacations, with a warmer welcome or a more beaming face than the old servants of the household. He is unacquainted with the pleasures and pains of freedom; nor has he ever seen his own race in that position, with the exception of a few wretched half-breeds, that linger about exciting neither his respect nor his envy. He regards the white man as something superior; considers liberty as peculiar to him, and not within the reach of the slave. Hence he has but little aspiration towards that which he cannot by any possibility attain. Nature has created him to obey the commands of a superior, and the thought of resistance rarely crosses his mind otherwise than as a mere transient idea, excited by some peculiar circumstances. Obedience has consequently become a part of his nature; he obeys not from fear, but from education. His moral nature is instructed; he is no longer a mere animal of toil; he knows the difference between right and wrong; that because he is a slave, he is not therefore free from the obligations of duty, but is responsible as a moral agent. True he has not the intellect to comprehend the great truths of christianity, but it has teachings suited even to his capacity, and it will require exceeding hardihood to deny the weight of such considerations. In the midst of this people, of whom we are the moral, as well as the physical guardians, it is proposed to introduce a class of creatures in all essential developments entirely different, who do not what they are commanded, but what they are forced to do; who recognize no duties; who have never heard of laws, to whom industry is unknown; who are yet to learn that treachery and bloodshedding are wrong, who have been torn from their native land, and transferred to a strange soil and a strange climate, to obey the behests of a strange master. What will be the effect upon our slaves? Those who anticipate only the elevation of the barbarian, have sadly misread history, and particularly the history of this race. There are races in the world capable, apparently, of indefinite self development; as the Celtic, the Teutonic; others have this power up to a certain degree, as the Egyptians, and perhaps the Chinese; others are without it, and prominently among them the negro race. They receive all light from above; it is not only necessary that they should be subjected to good influences, but to none save good influences. The tendency of such is always downwards, and evil communications will corrupt more than good examples can improve. Hence it is, that our planters make such a point of sending an incorrigi-

ble negro entirely out of the State. The great improvement, which we, under Providence, have been the means of effecting, is owing to the fact that the slave-trade never flourished in America, and, for many years, has been suppressed. Re-open this flood-gate of impurity, and all that we have accomplished in half a century would be lost; the cheapest defense of our institution would be sacrificed to a mere experiment, the good and the bad would be irrevocably confounded, and what would be the moral specific gravity of the compound, it is distasteful to conjecture. So much for the effect upon our slaves.

As masters, we would have still less reason to be gratified with the result. In the present condition of South Carolina, agricultural life is preferred by the great majority of her citizens, and is recommended by many other considerations than mere pecuniary interest. They are loth to yield up or desert the homes of their forefathers. They find that their natural feelings of independence are gratified, by treading habitually their own grounds; that their children grow up in a purer atmosphere, far from the temptations of city life. The Commonwealth, too, derives an advantage in the possession of a hardy, self-reliant, refined and educated body of citizens, who are, perhaps, more warmly attached to her soil, from owning it, and directly superintending its cultivation. But to the existence of this class of population, the certainty of security to isolated families is an absolute requisite. Hence, it exists only in countries such as England and the United States, which have generally been free from the curse of foreign invasion and internal violence; while in France, Spain, &c., &c., it is unknown, with the occasional exception of some feudal Baron, who still keeps up an army of retainers, sufficient to ensure his castle against surprise. One of the charms of plantation life consists in the pleasant intercourse between master and slave; characterized, as it generally is, by kindness of feeling on both sides. The introduction of half a million raw Africans, such as have been described, would quickly alter this state of things. The idea of leaving one's family, even for a day, amid a mass of barbarians—vicious, unruly, discontented, accustomed to the rule of force, speaking a different language, and never having learned to regard their master as their friend—would be revolting to human nature. We would gradually come to live as in the West Indies and Europe; proprietors would cluster in cities and villages, paying only occasional visits to their property; plantations would soon be held in copartnership, as investments, and the only interest felt would be in the factor's balance. The owner would cease to disturb himself about the

moral or physical condition of his slave. How could he sympathize with creatures with whom he could not even converse? How could he expose his children to a gang of savages, accustomed to poison or to murder; or, if he had been so unlucky as to purchase out of a nation of that description—to cannibalism? If perchance his servants died from cruelty, or over work, in his absence, the slave-trade would offer a cheap substitute, and there would be no neighborhood of gentlemen to brand him with public opinion. We would soon be driven to all those appliances, which are necessary where force is acknowledged, to be the only lever of government. That such a change would take place cannot be doubted. To pronounce it desirable would be to offer a senseless indignity to every owner of a plantation; for though, in argument with strangers, we frequently treat the bond between master and slave—ensuring protection to the one and obedience to the other—as merely pecuniary; yet, we confess to ourselves, that this mode of defending the institution is forced upon us by the necessity of selecting such considerations as will be appreciated by our opponents; while every slaveholder would be indignant at the thought that those by whom he had been surrounded from his youth had no other claim upon him than his horse or his ox. The injurious effect of the slave-trade, under this aspect, would be more severely felt in the parishes than in the hill country—owing to the great preponderance of the slave population, which always has existed there, and from the nature of the climate, always will exist.

If the relation of individual owners towards their slaves would be affected, not less would be the change in the relation of society to the subject masses in its bosom. It is a universal opinion abroad, that we retain our authority through the ignorance of our slaves as to their real strength; exactly the reverse is the case: we hold it undisputed—because of their knowledge of their real strength. An ignorant man is controlled only by visible exhibition of power; it requires education—and a considerable degree of education—to enable him to comprehend obedience to the law, as such; to enable him to see, in the sheriff, not an individual man, nor the leader of an armed posse, but the representative of the latent force of a whole society. This is an idea inculcated by knowledge—not ignorance. Prussia is a striking instance of the power of education, in causing a nation of brave men to submit to an unlimited military despotism. Were our slaves ignorant savages, we would, indeed, hold our individual lives by sufferance. Visible power and authority they would respect, and nothing else; hence, it would be necessary to render



power visible—unseen, it would be despised. Moreover, nations, as well as individuals, can be educated to obedience, and the opposite. An African, whose ancestors have delighted his youth with tales of war and resistance to control, grows up with this sentiment strong in his breast; the American slave, who has never heard, save of peaceable submission, is naturally inclined to submit. Some nations, by being often conquered, have been thus rendered permanent cowards, and flee at the sight of a soldier or a policeman. We suck in rebellion or obedience with our mother's milk. The Americans afford an illustration of this principle. Perhaps no nation on the globe is more high tempered, restless, excitable and violent in resistance to illegitimate authority, than the inhabitants of these Southern States; yet, none submit with more cheerfulness and alacrity to the commands of the law, however disagreeable. The American General at the head of a conquering army in Mexico, with a prostrate nation at his feet, was ordered to lay down his command and appear before a court martial; he unhesitatingly obeyed the mandate; Mexicans were unable to comprehend such conduct; an American would have been incapable of comprehending any other; the one had been educated to law, the other to anarchy. Our slaves have been subjected to the same influence as ourselves; they obey, without question, the law of their position; and as a remarkable consequence, there has not been a commotion in the slave population of this, the most decidedly slave State in the Union, since the suppression of the trade, with the single exception of 1822, which was entirely owing to emissaries from the West Indies; and was, moreover, much exaggerated in the reports of the time. Nor is it probable that another will ever take place? A partial outbreak they, of course, will not make; and the same knowledge which would fit them for a general insurrection, will most effectually deter them, by showing its utter futility. With the introduction of savages, a new night would descend; the very ignorance by which they would be incapacitated for a grand scheme, would urge them to outrages, individual and concerted, of a minor character, for which an unknown tongue would afford convenient means of concealment. Thefts, murders, plantation riots would be the order of the day, until the old West India system was introduced, to which we would soon be driven.

Such would be the natural effect of the realization of this project, upon slaves, slaveholders, and the community at large. Experiences corroborate these deductions. The awful character of Roman slavery, where the bond of duty was not correlative, and where it was consequently not considered



improper to expose such slaves as had outlived the period of active labor, to starve on an island in the Tiber, is well known, and it is also well known that its worst features were developed by the wars of the Republic, which by reducing whole nations of barbarians to captivity, produced effects similar to those of the modern slave-trade. But it is useless to investigate a system, which, in its practical operations, has so little similarity to our own. The West India system, in its origin and general features, offers many more points of contact, yet we know that there the slave was considered a mere instrument of labor; that the problem was at a given price, to extort from him the greatest amount of work; that the average length of his life was seven years, at the end of which his place was supplied with a new African; that the idea of any other than a mere economical relation between them, never entered into the brain of either—the negro exchanged an African for an American master, whether the exchange were beneficial depended upon circumstances—that one desideratum was to prevent his killing himself or his master, being from his barbarous nature, prone to do both; that the means of control were suited to the nature of the authority; chains, cart-whips, swords, barracons were in ordinary use on every plantation. Certainly there was an essential difference between their system and ours. Nor is the history of Carolina devoid of the teachings of experience to those who are willing to be taught. One peculiarity of the ante-revolutionary system, was the great apprehension manifested of certain offenses, which now rarely occur, or if so, are not attended with serious consequences. Runaways seem to have been, as in the West Indies, great objects of dread; every variety of punishment was invented to deter them, and perhaps not without reason, as contemporaneous narratives show them to have filled the woods, and to have been of the most desperate character, recognizable only by the brand of their owner burnt in upon them. Another was the continual fear of insurrection, for which there was ample justification. Another, was the cruel corporeal nature of the punishments prescribed. A glance at the statute book will bring these facts into relief.

Offering violence to a christian white person, was punished, for the second offense, by splitting the nose and burning the face; for the third offense, death. (Acts of Assembly, 1690, sec. 1; Acts of Assembly, 1712, sec. 17.) For petty larceny, the punishment was, second offense, cutting off the ear, or branding on the forehead; third offense, splitting the nose; fourth offense death. (Acts of Assembly, 1712, sec. 10.)

Every captain was required to pursue and capture a runaway, dead or alive. (Acts of Assembly, 1690, sec. 9.) For

the first offense, the punishment was whipping; for the second, branding with the letter R.; for the third cutting off the ear; for the fourth, gelding; for the fifth, cutting off one leg, or death. (Acts of Assembly, 1712, sec. 19.)

The Act of 1751, reciting that poisonings had become very frequent, proceeds to denounce an especial punishment upon that horrible crime, &c., &c., &c.

Indeed, the punishments upon slaves were entirely different from those now existing, and from those imposed at the time upon the whites—an appeal being made in the one case to the body, in the other to the moral nature. Most of the offenses abovementioned, have disappeared or have ceased to excite apprehension, and the penalties have been forgotten, insomuch that few know they ever existed. What was the reason of this change? Why is it that our government of slaves is so different from what it was in the last century, or is now in the West Indies? Something is undoubtedly due to the progress of the world, and to the fact, that we have been subjected to all the elevating influences of republican government, which has taught us the difficult lesson of self-restraint. Knowing no superior, we are free from that petty tyranny, so universally characteristic of those who have themselves a master. It is a pardonable vanity to suppose this form of government best calculated to develope all that is noble and generous in a people. But our ancestors, though not republicans, were in most respects free as ourselves. Neither can this difference be ascribed to their former cruelty of disposition. Refinement and humanity were their possession in England and France, and were cherished by them also in the forests of America. Bigotry and savage intolerance formed no part of their character; they were not witch-burners or quaker-hangers, nor did they in the mere wantonness of despotism enact unnecessary Blue Laws. In all their troubles, they never forgot that their origin was in the upper, not the lower classes of the fatherland. Indeed, it was found necessary to impose in these very statutes, heavy penalties upon such masters as should neglect or refuse to inflict the cruel punishments prescribed, proving that they were revolting to the spirit of individuals, but deemed by the collective legislative wisdom necessary to the security of the State. But it is useless to speculate upon the causes of this severity; they are set forth in the preambles to the statutes themselves—that to the Act of 1712 is as follows: “Whereas the plantations and estates of this Province cannot be well and sufficiently managed and brought into use without the labor and service of negroes, and other slaves, and forasmuch as the negroes and other slaves brought among the people of this

Province for that purpose are of barbarous, wild and savage natures, such as renders them wholly unqualified to be governed by the laws, customs, and practices of this Province, but that it is absolutely necessary that such other constitutions, laws and orders should in this Province be made and enacted for the good regulating and ordering of them, as may restrain the disorders, rapines and inhumanity to which they are naturally prone and inclined, and may also tend to the safety and security of the people of this Province and their estates, Be it therefore, &c., &c." That to the Acts of Assembly, of 1740, says, "Whereas, the great importation of negroes from the coast of Africa, who are generally of a barbarous and savage disposition, may hereafter prove of very dangerous consequence to the peace and safety of this Province, and which we have now more reason to be apprehensive of, from the late rising in rebellion of a great number of negroes, lately imported into this Province from the coast of Africa, in the thickest settlements of this Province, and barbarously murdering upwards of twenty persons of his Majesty's faithful subjects of this Province, within about twenty miles from the capital of this Province, &c., &c." The preambles to various other Acts are substantially the same. Here, then, we have this mystery revealed. We at length understand why a runaway should be so fearful a character; why poisonings should be so common as to attract especial legislative notice; why petty larceny should be so incorrigible. The African was of "a barbarous, wild, and savage nature," "naturally prone to disorders, rapines and inhumanity," in his own country; transferring him among a people whom he did not know, and with whom he could not converse, did not alter these traits. Accustomed to obey only visible manifestations of brute force, it was necessary to adopt the same machinery here to accomplish the same end; hence, the cutting off of ears, branding, splitting of noses, cutting off of legs. It was necessary to appeal to his physical senses. What did he know of duty? What did he care for a moral rebuke? He must see his blood flow. That had always been in his eyes the appropriate method of manifesting disapprobation, and that alone did he comprehend. Such a character, escaped into the swamps, was, indeed, a terror to the neighborhood; famishing from hunger, without the means of speech, which might enable him to impose on a passer-by—restrained by no idea of right or wrong, he plunged at night, like a ravenous wolf, on sleeping household, or attacked in bands, with staves and poles, the unwary traveler. What hope was there of permanently reforming such a creature from theft? The offending member must be cut off on slight provocation, lest

it infect the sound. Such was the surgery requisite, and such was the surgery employed.

The regulations for securing the province against insurrections, (mere local affairs it is true, but very bloody,) originated in the same causes; slave huts were to be carefully searched at certain periods for concealed weapons, guns, clubs, &c., &c.; every master was required to keep his gun "in the most private, and least frequented room in the house," "every white man under sixty, was to go to church with, and carry into the church," his musket and six rounds, and the Church Wardens were to enforce this regulation; penalties were imposed upon the neglect to comply with these laws. Nor need the apprehension of our ancestors seem idle; surrounded by a population as they have described it, such precautions were eminently necessary, and were tested on more than one occasion. The West Indies furnish a lamentable instance of the folly of filling the country with a preponderating number of barbarians. In Jamaica, for instance, the ratio in 1821, is said to have been as 28,000 whites to 345,000 slaves. Consequently, when the mother country, like Saturn of old, raised her hand to destroy them, they succumbed without a struggle; the disjointed fragments of their former society floated awhile upon a sea of enemies, and then disappeared forever. In those islands, where the contest lay between master and slave, similar causes produced similar results. It would be woful statesmanship to overlook this effect of a revival of the slave-trade, when the history of our own country, and the West Indies, shows that in such an event, commotions must be frequent, and will always be excited by discontented Africans. The great Jamaica rebellion of 1760 commenced on a plantation, where the slaves had been well treated, and was entirely owing to a negro, who had been a chief in his own country, and was hence particularly restive in slavery. Nor do we enjoy an immunity from foreign invasion. Suppose then the revival of the slave-trade to be accompanied by all its anticipated advantages, that the whites be merely the directors, each of a great number of slaves, in the ratio of directing to executing powers; suppose this to be the only occupation for a white man, we should be confronted by the fatal example of the West Indies, where this system existed in perfection, where the masters were afraid to appeal to arms against the mother country, lest a decree of emancipation should raise a wave of barbaric ferocity to overwhelm them. Such a state of things would render us, as it did them, slothful, idle, sensual, without energy or the capacity of resistance, and exposed to the insults of every opponent. In a mere military point of view, then, the slave-trade would work a



serious injury by surrounding our hearths with a race who would be enemies in peace and in war.

Another and most important lesson is taught us by history. It is difficult to ascertain the exact number of Africans imported into the West Indies since the opening of the trade, but it is probably greater than supposed; some have estimated it for the British Islands alone at 1,700,000, others at 2,100,000; others higher still. After 178 years, but 780,993 remained to be registered for emancipation. Between 1680 and 1776 a period of ninety-six years, 800,000 negroes, it is said, were imported into Santo Domingo; at the latter date 290,800 remained. The decrease in Cuba has been estimated by competent authorities at from five to ten per cent. per annum. Thus statistics disclose the fearful fact, that in a climate similar to their own, surrounded by tropical abundance, the African slave population has not even preserved itself in the course of nature, but despite the continued renovation, has decreased at the rate of hundreds per cent. in the century. The fact is universally admitted, and in the British Parliament was urged by the advocates of the slave-trade as an argument for keeping open a source of supply. In the United States a gratifying difference meets the view. The whole number, imported has been estimated at 400,000. Since the year 1790 the increase has been at the rate of twenty-eight per cent. for every decade, and the actual number is now some four millions. By reference to the character of the importations, this fact will be placed in a still more striking point of view. For obvious reasons the Africans imported are seldom without the ages of fifteen and forty, thus in the prime of life, and best calculated to increase the population among which they are diffused. Now the proportion of female slaves in the United States, between these ages, is about twenty per cent. of the whole number of slaves, and of both males and females in like manner, about forty per cent.; the ratio of increase then to the latter, instead of twenty-eight, would be seventy per cent., and to the former one hundred and forty per cent. for each decade. Now why should the slave population decrease in a country similar to their own, and increase in one altogether different? What can have overcome the disadvantage of climate and produced such contrary results? So irreconcilable a difference in the result must be owing to some radical difference between the two systems. They resemble each other in every respect but one, and that is the existence of the slave-trade; under the one system it flourished without limitation, under the other it never existed to any great extent, was almost suppressed from 1790, and absolutely from 1808. In the one, the various con-



siderations already alluded to, debarred the African from the benefit of his master's solicitude, while his cheapness deprived him of any hold upon the inferior motives. His original vices were not eradicated, they were merely accommodated to the new society in which he was placed; polygamy became promiscuous concubinage, brutal debaucheries undermined his health, and continued labor completed the work of ruin. In America the promptings of nature and self-interest alike contributed to produce the opposite result. Surrounded in his manhood by the descendants of those who had cultivated the paternal acres in his youth, it was impossible for the American planter to be indifferent to their welfare; the kind feelings of early days were exchanged on the one hand for the respectful attachment and obedience of age, and on the other for a benevolent superintendence, nature revolted at treating one in such a connection as a mere instrument of toil. The ties of marriage, were acknowledged and respected; the claims of helpless youth, and feeble old age recognized, and not only moral, but physical wants supplied; if the cares of a parent sometimes failed, those of a master were ever present. Hence this rapid increase, which would be impossible under the grinding rule of a tyranny; the fact is at once the consequence and proof of the kindest treatment. Nor is the continuance of this situation dependant upon virtue alone, from the influence of which a considerable portion of mankind would be exempt, for the dictates of worldly advantage counsel the same course to those who are devoid of the finer sensibilities, ill-treatment is sure to be followed by a loss, for which there is no slave-trade to afford a cheap compensation. Both classes of owners are thus urged by the motives respectively most congenial to their natures to adopt the same course. Revive the slave-trade, and all this will vanish; we shall again find it necessary to prescribe by statute the manner of feeding slaves, lest they be compelled, from want of nourishment, to seek refuge and subsistence in the forest.

In taking leave of this part of the subject, it will not be amiss to review cursorily the legislation of South Carolina, in reference to the question. The British, having rested the Assiento from the Spaniards, extended greatly their commerce with Africa, and enjoyed, until 1776, a monopoly of supplying the Carolina slave market. After the peace of 1783, the New Englanders obtained a participation in its profits. In the early history of the Colony, individuals, mostly foreigners, holding high positions under the government, were interested in this traffic, and it flourished greatly, the evil effects of which were soon felt, as will be apparent from the statutes enacted:

The Act of Assembly, of 1698, for the encouragement of the importation of white servants, after the following preamble:—"Whereas the great number of negroes, which have of late been imported into this Colony, may endanger the safety thereof, if speedy measures be not taken, and encouragement given for the importation of white servants"—requires each planter to take one white servant for every six negroes, &c., &c.,

The Act of Assembly, of 1712, "for the more effectual preventing of the spreading of contagious disorders" rests upon the following foundation: "Whereas great numbers of the inhabitants of this Province have been destroyed by malignant, contagious diseases, brought here from Africa, and other parts of America, &c." Among those enumerated, are plague, spotted fever, Sian distemper, and Guinea fever.

The Act of Assembly, of 1714, after the following preamble: "And Whereas the number of negroes do extremely increase in this Province, and through the afflicting Providence of God, the white persons do not proportionably multiply, by reason whereof the safety of the said Province is greatly endangered, for the prevention of which, for the future, &c., &c.," imposes an additional duty of £2 upon every slave over twelve years imported "from any part of Africa."

The Act of Assembly, of 1716, "to encourage the importation of white servants into this Province," after the preamble, "Whereas sad experience hath taught us, that the small number of white inhabitants of this Province, is not sufficient to defend the same, even against our Indian enemies; and whereas the number of slaves is daily increasing in this Province, which may likewise endanger the safety thereof, if speedy care be not taken to encourage the importation of white servants," requires planters to take one for every ten slaves, &c., &c.

The Act of Assembly, of 1717, after the preamble, "And whereas the great importation of negroes into this Province, in proportion to the white inhabitants of the same, whereby the future safety of this Province will be greatly endangered, for the prevention thereof, &c., &c., imposes an additional duty of £40 upon every negro slave, "of any age or condition, whatsoever, and from any part of the world."

The Act of Assembly, of 1744, "for the further preventing the spreading of malignant and contagious disorders" has the following preamble: "Whereas it hath been found by experience, that since the importation of negroes and slaves from the coast of Africa into this Province hath been prohibited, this Province in general, and Charleston in particular, hath been much more healthy than heretofore it hath been, &c., &c."

The Act of Assembly, of 1740, and the Act of Assembly, of 1751, following out the Act of 1716, imposes a tax upon the importation of slaves, to be devoted to the encouragement of white servants.

The Act of Assembly, of 1764, after the preamble, "Whereas the importation of negroes equal in number, to what have been imported of late years, may prove of the most dangerous consequence, in many respects to this Province, and the best way to obviate such dangers, will be by imposing such additional duty upon them, as may totally prevent the evils," imposes an additional duty of £100.

The Act of Assembly, of 1787, enacts that no negro or other slave shall be imported under penalty of forfeiture, unless master come in to reside.

Another Act of Assembly, of 1787, both before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, enacts "that any person importing or bringing into this State a negro slave contrary to the Act to regulate the recovery of debts, and prohibiting the importation of negroes, shall, besides the forfeiture of such negro or slave, be liable to a penalty of £100 in addition to the forfeiture, in and by said Act prescribed."

The Act of Assembly, of 1788, prohibits the importation of negroes or other slaves, unless at that time the property of citizens of the United States, and within the limits of the United States, under pain of forfeiture and £100.

The Act of Assembly, of 1792, after the preamble, "Whereas it is deemed inexpedient to increase the number of slaves within the State in our present

circumstances and condition," prohibits the importation of slaves from Africa the West Indies, or other places beyond seas, for two years.

By Act of Assembly, of 1794, extended to 1797.

The Act of Assembly, 1796, after the preamble, "Whereas, it appears to be highly impolitic to import negroes from Africa, or other place beyond seas," prohibits such importation till 1799, under pain of forfeiture of the slave, and a fine upon the captain.

By Act of Assembly, of 1798, extended to 1801.

And by Act of Assembly, of 1800, extended to 1803.

In 1803, all the existing Acts were repealed, and the restriction against importation was confined to South America, the West Indies, and the other States of the Confederacy, unless in case of the last, a certificate be filed with the clerk of the court "under the hands of two magistrates, and the seal of the clerk of the court of the district, where the said negro or negroes have resided for the last twelve months, previous to the date of the certificate, that such negro or negroes are persons of good character, and have not been concerned in any insurrection or rebellion."

It is apparent from this sketch, that the injurious tendency of the importation of barbarism, is not an idea originating with yankee abolitionists, and forced upon the reluctant South as a stigma; it was recognized in Carolina as far back as 1714; nor was it then the creature of sickly and maudlin equivocators, who had neither the firmness to give up the institution which they deplored and excused, nor to follow it to its legitimate deductions. There was no hint of abolition, no distrust of slavery; but these sterling citizens had sufficient wisdom to perceive a vast difference between a system of civilized, and a system of barbarian slavery. The great historical Carolinians of 1789 and 1791, many of whom were violently opposed to this grant of power to the Federal Government, never supposed themselves thereby committed to an approval of the slave-trade, nor thought that their condemnation of this latter would be inconsistent with fidelity to the institution itself. They were keenly alive to the necessity of developing it at home, of keeping it free from all foreign impurities. Hence the preambles; hence the prohibitions of importation from Africa, or even from sister States, unless with evidence of good character. The restriction against importation from Africa was removed a few years previous to 1808, but this was owing to the impossibility of preventing evasion of our laws, through the want of a State navy, and it was thought better to bring them directly from Africa, than receive them through New York, as pretended Americans; that the sentiment of the State underwent no change, is proved by the subsequent unanimous vote of her delegation in Congress. It is to the wise statesmanship of these men that is owing the present felicitous condition of our laboring population. The progress of a joint civilization since that time, has rendered the treatment of slaves throughout the Union nearly the same; there is therefore no longer any reason for

the suspicion which formerly existed with respect to negroes from other States, and all laws against their importation have been repealed. But every day widens the distance between the American and the native African slave, and the wisdom which counselled the passage of existing laws would imperatively demand their continuance.

This sketch disclose, moreover, that the barbarians themselves were not the only barbarous things introduced by the slave-trade; it was accompanied by all manner of horrid diseases, which were not confined to the city of Charleston alone, but spread through the length and breadth of the land irrespective of locality and climate. The West Indies have long labored under this affliction; certain species of maladies, as certain species of sharks, having followed in the wake of the slaver's from the blight of Benin to the bay of Havana.

It shows, too, that they were not insensible to the necessity, in a military point of view, of maintaining a due proportion between the dominant and servient races; the slave-trade was accompanied by plans for the importation of a corresponding number of white servants. The message preferring African slaves to European laborers; fortunately we are not compelled to choose between the two; our own white population increases with sufficient rapidity for the slaves we have. But when it is proposed to flood the land with barbarians, why is not some plan devised for at least retaining our own inhabitants at home. A vast tide has distributed throughout the West, one hundred and eighty-six thousand four hundred and seventy-nine native white Carolinians of all classes, whose virtues reflect honor upon the land of their birth, but who are no longer devoted to her advancement. What means can be devised of preventing this evil, it is difficult to say; certainly the importation of barbarians will not render South Carolina a more attractive residence either to rich or poor, and it would be questionable statesmanship, to embrace what the experience of history, and particularly our own, has shown to be an evil, without providing in advance some antidote.

Such are some of the objections to this measure; the subject is not exhausted; many yet remain. The proposition cannot be entertained at all, unless beneficial to the State, but the converse does not follow; it could be easily shown, that there is a vast difference between bringing a Virginia negro to Carolina, where he finds nothing changed, except the sky above him, and catching one in Africa to sell him into a land in every respect foreign—but this would lead into another line of argument.

The principal question having thus been disposed of, viz whether the revival of the slave-trade would be advantageous



to South Carolina, there remain certain minor points, which it is necessary to discuss; and suppose for this purpose, that the revival of the slave-trade would be beneficial to the State, is it desirable that the question should be made an issue? Few will pretend that this measure is a vital necessity, a matter of such overwhelming importance as to occupy the whole political horizon, as did the claim of a right to tax America in 1776. Will the advantages resulting from its agitation equal the disadvantages? Place out of view its impracticability; admit for argument's sake that it is practicable; that the nations at present so violently opposed to it can be induced by soft words or hard blows to withdraw their opposition so far as we are concerned; that the repeal of the acts of Congress can be obtained. It is undeniable that a large majority of the people of the South, particularly of those who take no active part in political agitation, is opposed to the proposition, and that if put to the vote in this State to-morrow it could not obtain one-tenth the suffrages. And the opposition is based, not upon considerations of expediency alone, but the mere idea arouses with many a feeling of horror and disgust; husbands and fathers shudder at surrounding what is most precious to them with the perils of a heathen barbarism. As has been truly said, slaveholders would not view with gratification a decline in the price of their slaves; every class and condition of society would have cause of dissatisfaction, and the contest would be fierce and bitter indeed; for the inducement would be the sancity of our firesides. It would require long years of unremitting exertion and argument, of continued and violent struggling to produce a preponderance of sentiment in favor of the measure such as now exists against it; until then the South would be rent with convulsive struggles and pass through all the phases of dissension which lie between unanimity on one side and unanimity on the other; slaveholders and non-slaveholders would perhaps be arrayed against each other; the Northern and Southern slave States would echo with mutual recriminations as the slave-breeding and slave-destroying States, while the lurid glare of the abolitionist millenium would illuminate the unnatural warfare. The present does not appear to the undersigned a propitious time for entering upon such a contest. It is true the South has both greater power to resist, and less cause to fear, unconstitutional aggression now than ever; she has in the main, carried off the victory on all the great points which have been contested, and enjoys the satisfaction of having obtained the recognition of her constitutional rights, without committing aggression upon any other member of the Confederacy; we have conquered a peace, but who can prophecy its per-



petual duration? Should Carolina occupy this respite in sowing dissension broadcast throughout the South? No; let it rather be spent in increasing her physical power, developing her resources, reconciling the dissensions among her children and sisters, and consolidating by every means in her power the fabric of their greatness. Even, therefore, if the slave-trade were beneficial, there would be little room for hesitation in this point of view between its advantages and disadvantages.

Suppose, on the other hand, that the slave-trade would be injurious to South Carolina; is the agitation of the question desirable? This will seem to many a strange question, but it must be met. It is not intended to impute directly or indirectly a want of sincerity to the supporters of the measure; of course there will be in this, as in every other party, men destitute of political principle and influenced only by motives of self-interest; it would be beneath the dignity of the legislature to notice such; but a great many worthy persons are honestly disposed to make issue with the North from a spirit of pure combativeness, without regard to the ostensible cause. The undersigned does not boast an entire exemption from this failing, and is hence disposed to view it with leniency in others. There can be no greater mistake in politics than this; combativeness is a capital quality in action, but in council most useless and injurious. In taking a false position we voluntarily move down from our stronghold and offer the enemy an advantage; it is possible to enter battle with the eyes closed, but it requires a marvellous constitution to keep them closed after the first stroke, when the weakness of our defense must be discerned, and who has not experienced the strength of that armour which consists in the conviction of a quarrel just? a defeat would sooner or later be inevitable, for in the affairs of the world truth must eventually prevail. The subject is too important to justify us in assuming any ground not fortified by both justice and expediency. More particularly would it be unfortunate for the South to take a false step, since all the propositions she has hitherto advanced have been sustained by the returning good sense of the people, and as we are to fight a moral as well as a political battle, it is highly desirable that we should continue to be right.

If, then, it be not for the advantage of South Carolina to revive the slave-trade, nor yet to agitate the question, is it desirable that she should strive to procure the repeal of the existing laws upon the subject? It has already been shown that these laws were passed with the approbation and votes of her Representatives in Congress, acting in full sympathy

with their constituents, and that it is impossible under the circumstances to attach any discredit to the institution, from laws which we ourselves have enacted. For whose sake, then, would this repeal be obtained? Of course no African would be imported here, for, by supposition, that would be injurious to Carolina and not desirable. If the State would not profit by its revival, neither would her citizens. Previous to 1808 it was carried on mostly by New England men and New England capital, with agencies established in Charleston, and since that period it has a clandestine existence only at the North. No instance can be adduced of a native Carolinian being implicated in the remotest degree. Our people have manifested no partiality for this commerce, whether from a moral repugnance or from a pride that scorns such an occupation, cannot be ascertained; the fact is so. The advantage, then, of such a movement on the part of the State would accrue to the traders themselves and to Yankee capitalists—strangers who owe her no allegiance and who have no claims upon her protection. Whatever may be said of the trade itself, few eulogiums can be passed upon those who are engaged in the prosecution of it. The horrors of the middle passage have certainly not been exaggerated, nor is it possible to exaggerate the crimes which will be committed by such men, when engaged in an occupation where a death penalty stares them continually in the face. Nor would the impolicy of existing laws be any excuse for *their* conduct. Is there, then, any reason which would justify South Carolina in volunteering to throw her mantle around these outcasts, whose crimes have everywhere driven them beyond the pale of humanity? Can we refrain from blushing at the suggestion and from shrinking with horror at the thought of such contamination? Never! let her preserve in jealous purity the character which has been handed down to her from former generations; and if these men need an advocate, let him be sought among those who were born upon the same soil and nurtured under the same heaven.

In the precedent discussion, reference to such topics as might appeal to prejudice rather than reason has been studiously avoided. If ever there was an occasion, when the happiness of South Carolina should be the object of solicitude and wise deliberation, it is this; but the time for deliberation once past, any hesitation is fraught with infinite evil. The question having been brought directly before the legislature, a year devoted to its consideration, and there remaining scarcely the shadow of a doubt as to the sentiments of the State, it is desirable that her position should no longer be equivocal. The undersigned, therefore, recommends the

adoption of the following resolutions, embodying to a certain extent the sentiments contained in the preceding report:

1st. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this body the introduction of barbarians, whether slave or free, from any part of the world, would be injurious to the best interests of the State of South Carolina.

2d. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this body an endorsement by the legislature of the proposition to revive the African slave-trade, would be calculated to sow dissension throughout the South at a time when its union is necessary to its safety.

3d. *Resolved*, That inasmuch as citizens of South Carolina do not participate in the prosecution of the African slave-trade, this State feels little interest in the species of punishment denounced against the violators of the laws of the United States upon the subject, and would consider any effort on her part in the existing division of sentiment at the South, to procure their repeal, as unnecessary and impolitic in the last degree.

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#### ART. V.—THE NATURAL EQUALITY OF MEN TREATED AS A QUESTION OF PHILOSOPHY.

It cannot be denied by any one who has studied the science of morals, that a very important question in philosophy arises when we speak of natural principles. The question is, in what sense is nature the source either of moral philosophy or the principles of social government. In other words, is nature an original source of any social rights in any just sense? We are to bear in mind that it is impossible for nature to be the author of rights without necessarily being also the origin of wrongs.

I am not disposed to question the importance or stability of the distinctions in philosophy, to which we give the name of rights and wrongs. I am perfectly willing to admit that there are *moral* rights and wrongs—*social* rights and wrongs; and, hence, the point that I wish to discuss, is the logical or philosophical propriety of attaching the term natural to those two sciences as to any of the rules of conduct that go to compose them. I am, also, perfectly willing to admit that there are natural rights and natural wrongs, but I purpose to contend that nature has to do with matter or material substances exclusively.

Matter, or material substances, may and often does depart from the natural laws appertaining to it on them, and this is, therefore, naturally wrong; but I hold that it cannot be called *moral* wrong, or morally wrong, because material substances are not the subjects of moral government.

Vegetables, for example, are, if you please, the material body of man, may in their growth and development depart from the natural laws regulating them, may produce a *lusus naturæ*, as a natural wrong.

A stunted tree, or a deformed body, present instances of

wrong in their natural development. They are not naturally right; not as nature, in the fair and full display of her uniform and consistent laws would have produced, had not some extraneous or secondary cause operated to mar the regularity of her productions.

There are certain laws of nature, fixed and uniform—laws that are naturally right, and having relation to matter or material substances, that regulate those substances by way of general rule—or, in other words, to which material substances can form invariably, if no hindering cause occurs in the history of their growth, or in the course of their development, to interfere with this otherwise invariable conformity of matter to law.

But what I propose to insist upon is, that natural rights should not be confounded with moral rights, or social principles. If a man's body is deformed, the body is in that deformity not naturally right, and yet *he* may be either morally blame-worthy or otherwise for the natural defect.

You may go into your garden and find a vegetable deformed, *i. e.*, not developed as nature would have developed it, had her laws prevailed, or been fully obeyed; and although you admit that it is not naturally right, *i. e.*, not conformed to natural laws, you do not attach the idea of moral wrong either to nature or the vegetable.

The object of this article is to make the attempt to fix the line of demarkation between moral and natural philosophy between what is right, morally; what is right, socially; and what is right in a natural point of view, if those distinctions in reality and truth exist.

If there be no line of demarkation between moral and natural philosophy, such a line as will enable us to pronounce with confidence when we have violated a moral law, and when we have infringed natural laws, we are manifestly thrown upon a sea of doubt with respect to the most important subject that can interest beings capable of being brought under the influence of moral government.

I have studied these questions very attentively; nay, I may add, I think, with unusual fidelity and zeal, and the result of my study is the confident conviction that past philosophers, as well as past sociologists, have confounded natural principles, or natural philosophy, with moral principles or ethics, to the very material detriment of both sciences.

Even the most important State paper ever penned in this country—I allude to the declaration of American Independence—commits this error. It confounds natural rights with the principles of social and moral philosophy. It calls these latter principles by the name of *natural*, instead of social or

ethical. Hence, it speaks of natural rights, or applicable to the social or moral *relations* of mankind.

*These relations*, I admit, are under the government of philosophical principles, moral and social ethics, right and wrong rules of social intercourse; but as they are not natural objects, not material substances, the laws or rules that govern or regulate them, should not be called *natural* laws or rules.

I lay it down as a general proposition, to the soundness of which I commit what little reputation I may have, that nothing is naturally regulated that is not matter; hence, I say that every natural object has length, breadth, and thickness—all matters occupies space and time continuously. Hence the prime distinction between men, as social, moral, and immortal beings; and the natural objects of this life is, that the last are material, and the former not; but holding individuality and immateriality—not having length, breadth, or thickness—not susceptible of being divided, measured, or naturally regulated.

I see no just reason why the relations of life, as they occur in the history of immaterial and intangible beings, should be called natural; or, why we should give the name natural to the rules of government to which these immaterial beings should conform during the existence of the transitory relations of social intercourse, when nature cannot be said either to produce those relations, as to produce the *principles* of social morals regulating them. The *relations* of life are produced or brought into existence, not by nature, but by the free agency of man—by man himself, by his own actions.

Man has from nature physical strength, and that physical strength *he uses*, and nature does not use it for him. Hence, every action of man, which is effected through the use and employment of physical strength, is attributable to man as an immoral and immaterial being. As such he guides or directs the physical strength of his natural, animal, or material framework, to the production of the relations of life. Hence, the relations of life are human in their origin, and the laws that should regulate them are social or ethical; or, if preferred, philosophical in a moral point of view.

If it were to be affirmed that nature produced the regulations of men, and also produced the laws that should morally regulate those relations, I would be glad to be informed how the free agency of man could be maintained. All that we understand by the agency of man is, his production of the actions of this life. If he does not produce them, and nature does, then he is the passive agent of a fixed destiny.

Natural philosophy is a science of itself. What is natural philosophy but those truths that relate to the productions of



nature; or, if you please, those laws that regulate the changes of material substances.

But who ever heard of the law that I should not kill my neighbor, or by that superior physical strength, I might, or might not, reduce him to servitude, or ravage his country with fire or sword, or appropriate to my uses the products of his skill and industry, being introduced into any regular system of natural philosophy.

But if there are natural rights and wrongs, or natural laws applicable to men in the relations of life, then, these laws ought to have a place in every sensible or consistent system of natural philosophy, as well as other natural laws relating to matter or material substances. Can this be logically denied? A treatise on natural philosophy would surely be incomplete that ignored any portion of the laws of nature.

If it be merely unnatural for me to kill my neighbor; or to deprive him of his liberty; or to use his property for my benefit, contrary to his wishes; then, as the laws I have violated are natural laws, I am only to be accounted an erring natural philosopher.

And suppose it were charged upon me that I had violated a natural law, when I deprived my neighbor of his property contrary to his will and wishes, and by the mere exercise of my physical strength, could I not reply that I had only used the strength *nature had given me*, and had acted only in a natural manner, not having any ability to act supernaturally.

It is clearly a law of nature, that the trees of our forests should retain their vegetable life, grow and flourish from year to year, until in process of time, doubt, and decay naturally occurred. Such being the manifest law of nature, then it follows, conclusively, that the farmers of our country, who have belted or girdled these trees, whereby the death, and consequent decay of these previously living trees have been effected, have violated a natural law.

Now you charge upon me that I have reduced one of my fellow-creatures to servitude, and have thereby violated a natural law—that law of nature mentioned in the declaration of our natural liberties—that law that declares that all men are naturally equal in respect to social rights.

Suppose now I admit the charge. Then it follows that I have violated a natural law. Has there ever lived a man who has not violated such laws, monthly, weekly, hourly? Have not our farmers in killing trees violated nature's regularity of procedure? Do not those men who eat or drink too much, or sleep more than good health requires, violate natural laws? What reason is there that the violation of one

law of nature differs in the moral or ethical aspect of the question, so that one disobedience of her code is more or less blame-worthy than another? And, especially, what reason is there for the opinion that one act of disobedience of natural law is wholly innocent, and another criminal and wrong, in the face of the fact that the *authority of nature is in both cases equally violated?*

Is not nature the proximate cause of the life of vegetables? Is she not also the proximate cause of the animal life of human beings?

Now, since nature, as the proximate cause of the lives of men and trees, or in other words, since men and trees hold life in accordance with natural laws, it follows as a plain, and, indeed, unavoidable alternative, that the disobedience or violation of these two laws must be equally criminal, or equally innocent, if nature be the *only fountain* of the *moral aspect* of her laws, and if she has made no distinction between them, as she evidently has not.

I desire the reader to bear in mind that, in this discussion, I am proceeding upon the supposition that the christian scheme of revealed truth is to be considered as apart from and out of the range of the investigation; I am only discussing truth in the light of nature.

Revelation, I admit, may, as a *supernatural* dispensation, come into the sphere of human actions and institute, or originate moral distinctions. But the reader cannot fail to perceive, that nature and the laws of her motion or development are now as they were before the period when revealed truths were made known and enforced.

Revelation distinguishes between killing trees and killing men; and, in virtue of this distinction, and in the light of revealed truth, killing men is criminal, wrong, and immoral; while killing trees, is innocent, and often praiseworthy, although it is as apparent, as the sun at noonday, that they are both violations of the laws of nature.

If nature has made a distinction in morals, between her laws declaring that the violation of some of them is wrong, and the violation of others innocent, what evidence have we of that distinction? I know of none but the deduction of human beings.

It may appear to us to be more criminal to kill a human being than to kill a vegetable; but that is simply human opinion; and as the stream cannot rise higher than the fountain, it can never possess a higher authority than mere human belief. And it may also appear to be more criminal to lie and cheat, than to eat and drink beyond the temperance standard;

and yet the latter is a violation of the laws of nature—is violative of the rules that naturally produce a state of bodily growth and development, and the former is not.

We do not know why it may not be said to be just as natural to lie and cheat as it is to deny the disposition to do so, when prompted to that course by the hope of some temporary advantage.

With respect to lying and cheating, it may be charged upon nature that she furnishes the means of lying and cheating; and, hence, whoever does lie and cheat, only uses the powers or means conferred by nature. If a man cheats and lies, he uses precisely the same natural agencies that he does when he performs acts of kindness and honesty.

Because we employ natural agencies when we perform acts of kindness, we therefore conclude that it is natural for men to be kind in the relations of life, and unnatural to be cruel and murderous.

But when it is seen that the cruel and murderous man, in his acts of murder and cruelty, employs natural agencies, and performs nothing but natural acts, does not manifestly perform a supernatural act, why is it not argued with equal conclusiveness, that cruel and murderous acts are natural, and always performed in strict accordance with the laws of nature?

The philosophical principle announced in the Declaration of American Independence is, that the people of this country had certain *natural rights*; and that, therefore, the English rulers of this country were *wrong* in interfering with them—and it goes on to state what those natural rights were.

Now, I desire to be distinctly understood, and I here say for that purpose, that I do not deny that the people of this country had the rights which the declaration claimed for them; but deny, in the most unequivocal manner, and in the name of moral and social philosophy, the propriety of denominating them natural rights. It is as clear as the open day, that men have as many gifts of nature to enable them to do wrong as they have to do right. It is as clear as the open day, that nature is as ready to supply the strength and the occasion required by the murderer of his fellow-being, as those demanded by the painstaking philanthropist. It is as clear as the open day, that the people of England, in their whole effort to subjugate this country to the English rule, never employed a supernatural agency—always used the means, the occasions, the agencies, that nature gave them.

Men have as many natural liberties and *natural rights* to do wrong as they have to do right. Hence, the distinction between acts accrues in virtue of moral and social philoso-

phy. I claim to hold, that moral and social philosophy—the truths that regulate the intercourse of men in the various relations of life—the principles that should guide men when their opinions and interest conflict—are natural in their origin, or applicable in their operation to natural substances.

These truths relate to immortal, immaterial, and intangible beings, and are the will of God, whether revealed or not.

Those truths relating to social life, that are revealed, are called religious principles. Those that are not revealed, but ascertained to be truths or principles by the experience and observation of men, are the philosophical and social principles that are recorded in our treatises on moral and mental philosophy, and in our volumes of political economy.

Mr. Malthus and Mr. Say did not copy any department of natural philosophy when they wrote their works upon social economy. They consulted their own improved intelligence—an intelligence *obtained by their own exertions*, and the observation and experience of other men, whose reasoning powers had been improved by them in a similar manner. Nature gave them their physical organizations—their bodies were preserved by obedience of the laws of nature—they acted naturally and not supernaturally, whenever they employed the physical strength supplied by nature, but *they* acquired the *knowledge of truths* that regulate the social state by their own mental or intellectual actions or agency.

It is one thing to say that nature gives us the natural power of acting, and another to say that she does the acts that the power given enables the agent to do.

I am, for example, the author of my own acts, whether mental or real; and, hence, nature is not their author, although nature gave me the natural power of motion or action.

Nature supplies to men the power of physical action. Now, to murder a fellow-being, is an action of physical strength. If I murder a fellow-creature, I employ the power given me by nature. If I reduce a fellow-being to servitude, I employ the superior physical power given me by nature. In neither of these acts do I perform a supernatural action; hence, they are both natural actions, performed in strict accordance with the laws of nature. Now, it would not do for me to say that nature was the author of my act of murder, if it could previously be truthfully said that I was the author of it. Neither can it be said that nature interposes any objection to my action in reducing a fellow-being to servitude, if in that action I act in accordance with natural means, and I can only act otherwise than naturally upon the supposition that I have the power of acting supernaturally.

Indeed, the whole system of moral truth is predicated upon the supposition that men have the natural right and liberty of committing every action that their physical power enable them to commit. Hence, it is, that moral, social, and religious rights or rules of conduct are restrictive of the natural liberties of mankind. It is because my neighbor has the natural right to kill me and steal my property, and apply it to his own purposes, contrary to my wishes, that I call upon the civil power, with its pain and penalties, to interfere, by restraining laws, for my protection; but to interfere rightfully—that is to say, in accordance with the truth on the proper principles of social life.

I cannot conceive of any moral code issuing from nature, for a moral code restrains nature, and nature is uniform and consistent. Nature only confers physical strength; hence, it imparts the power of murdering. Now, if murdering be afterwards prohibited, the prohibition limits and restrains the natural liberty, not by any interference with nature by way of natural law or natural alteration, but by a rule of right, denominated social or moral, addressed to the intelligent holders of this natural power of action. Hence, a moral law says to the creature, naturally free to kill, "you must not kill;" but, if the creature was not naturally free to kill—had not the *natural* right and liberty of killing—it would be the merest folly in the world to address a rule of action called moral, forbidding him from doing what he had not the power of doing, and could not naturally do, or was naturally unable to do.

There is a very common disposition, and a consequent very common practice, to employ the term *unnatural* to convey the idea of *unkind*; but, when properly considered, no two words can convey more dissimilar ideas. Any one, in any of the relations of life, may, if he sees proper, act unkindly, cruelly, despotically; but no one can act *unnaturally*, unless empowered to do so by Omnipotent wisdom. When properly considered, the phrase, to act *unnaturally*, means to act *supernaturally*—to act as God. A miracle, for example, is an *unnatural* action. The reason is plain. It is opposed to the accustomed rule of nature. It is in opposition to natural laws; and, because of the opposition, therefore *unnatural* or *contrary to nature*. We must always bear in mind, that the laws of nature are the will of God; but God and nature do not mean the same thing.



## ART. VI.—JUSTICE EVEN FROM THE NORTH.

THE Hon. Edmund Burke, of New Hampshire, has a full understanding, as the following paper, which he sends us, will show of the relations existing between the North and the South, and the preponderating value of this Union to the former section. The views which he takes are most remarkable, as emanating from New England, and, it might be thought, would have large practical influence, did not experience, but too painfully, teach the contrary. Mr. Burke's ideas upon the Tariff and Free Trade are of the most liberal character, and upon them it once seemed that New Hampshire and South Carolina shook hands. A new edition of his "Bundlecund Essays" would be very useful just now.—EDITOR.

THE NORMAL CONDITION OF THE NEGRO—IT IS THAT OF BARBARISM. In this essay we do not propose to vindicate slavery in the abstract, whether of the white or the black man. It is not necessary for our purpose, nor our argument. Besides, the author is not in favor of the principle of slavery in the abstract. He only proposes to speak of things as they exist and have existed from time immemorial, as proved by the records of history and the established facts of the present time.

It is undeniable that slavery has existed, in some form or other, from the earliest periods of history down to the present time. Not only the black, but the white man has been the subject of slavery. It existed under the Jewish dispensation. It existed in the Republics of Greece and of Rome. And in those ages of the world the white man was enslaved as well as the black; and in Greece the Greek himself was the subject of sale and servitude. In those early ages the conquered, whatever might be his color or race, was the absolute property of the conqueror, and was either put to death or sold into slavery. Such are the facts of history, sacred and profane; and they show that for some inscrutable purpose in the economy of Providence, which we, as religious beings, are bound to believe is wise and beneficent, and intended for the ultimate good of the human race, slavery has been, and is now permitted by the Supreme Being to exist in various forms and in various countries.

And, with regard to the negro race—what has been its condition from the earliest periods of history to the present time? Its normal condition has been that of barbarism; and what little of civilization the negro has enjoyed has been enjoyed in a state of slavery, or resulted from that state. Free and at home in his native wilds and deserts of Africa, the negro has been a barbarian; the victim of the most brutal despotism, of the most degraded superstition, of the foulest and most beastly habits. As his own master—that is, himself free and unrestrained—he is the most unfeeling and remorseless tyrant over others. He sells into slavery his own blood and kindred, his wives and his children, and practices the most beastly and brutal crimes, not excepting murder and cannibalism; and he does those things even at this day.\* Such is the native or normal condition of the African negro. Left to himself, and in his native home, he is a barbarian.

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\* Duncan's Travels in Africa.

But the same historical evidence which shows his normal condition, also establishes the fact that in connection with the superior races he is and has always been a slave; or exists and has existed in a subjugated and servile condition. The hieroglyphics and paintings upon the monumental remains of Egypt depict a negro in the condition of a slave; and from that period, being five thousand years ago, and extending down to the present time, he has been a slave.

Divesting the question of negro slavery from all other influences than those which effect the negro himself, has his normal condition been deteriorated, or ameliorated and benefited, by his forcible immigration to this country, and his reduction to a state of slavery as it exists here? In this country he has unquestionably been made to learn the habits of industry to a certain extent.

He has partially learned the art of agriculture and some of the mechanic arts. He has been partially civilized. He has been partially christianized. He has been civilized and christianized so far as his condition in a servile state would admit. In all these respects it cannot be denied that his condition has been greatly improved. If he had remained in Africa he would still have been a barbarian. He would not have enjoyed the least particle of civilization. He would have known nothing of the true God and the christian religion. He would have still been the tyrant over his own family, and would have still sold them into a slavery far more galling and inexorable than that to which he has been subjugated—slavery to barbarians like himself—and would have still held the power of life and death over his own wives and children, exercising that power as his caprices or passions might impel him.

Now, the facts which we have above stated are undeniably true with regard to the negro in his normal state, in his native country, his history, and his present condition as a slave in this country. Has not his condition, we repeat, been improved by his removal here and his reduction to slavery? And why has the great Governor of the Universe permitted this treatment of the negro, if not for some wise and beneficent purpose, if not for the fulfillment of his destiny?

In Africa the negro is a cumberer of the ground. He lives almost upon the spontaneous products of the earth. He toils not, and produces nothing. He contributes nothing to the commerce of the world, except his own sable compatriots, and a few of the spontaneous and indigenous products of his native land. He adds not an iota to the great cause of the civilization of man, and the progress of the human race. Here and elsewhere, under the intelligent direction of a superior and civilized race, he becomes industrious. He is a worker, a producer, a promoter of civilization. His peculiar physical constitution adapts him to a warm climate. He delights in the fierce blaze of a tropical sun, and the miasma of the swamp and the jungle he inhales without injury, as life-giving aliment. In the tropical climes he can labor, and the white man can only direct him by his intelligence. The toil of the negro, directed by the intellect of the white man, cause those regions—which would otherwise be as benighted as the wilds of Africa, the home of the savage and the wild beast—to blossom as the

rose, to become the seats of wealth and civilization, and to be the great sources whence are drawn the two most important tropical staples which form the basis of the commerce of the world. We allude to cotton and sugar.

The quantity of cotton annually produced in the United States cannot be less than 1,300,000,000 of pounds. This large amount of the raw material is manufactured into countless fabrics, which are spread by commerce over the whole world. It is the foundation of the foreign commerce of this country; it is the basis of the manufacturing industry and commerce of Great Britain; it contributes largely to the trade and commerce of France and other countries of Europe; and it is consumed in every land and clime of the earth, by every people under the sun. Strike this vast production of cotton from existence, and what would be the result upon the comforts, the civilization, and the destinies of the world? Yet this product, and all its vast connections and influences, is the product of the labor of the negro, directed by the superior intelligence of the white man—both being essential to its development.

And so of sugar. The amount produced in the United States and the West India Islands, cannot be less than 1,000,000,000 pounds—we do not pretend to be precisely accurate. It also, like cotton, enters into the general commerce of the world, employing thousands of men and ships, and contributing beyond the power of estimation, to the welfare, comfort, and happiness of mankind. It is also the product of the labor of the negro, guided by the intelligence of the white man. And, in order that this salutary relation between labor and its directing mind, may exist, the negro must be subordinate to the white man. If left to his own discretion, he ceases to be a producer, as his whole history proves. He becomes idle, dissolute, licentious, and filthy, and again relapses into barbarism. Such is the condition of the negro in Hayti and Jamaica, where he has enjoyed a state of freedom.\* Were

\* In order to show the tendency of the negro to relapse into habits of idleness, when relieved of the coercion of slavery, we have only to refer to the trade of the British West India Islands, at the time of the emancipation of the negroes in 1830, and in 1849, the latest date we have upon the subject; and to the trade of Hayti and St. Domingo, before the rebellion and independence of the negroes in 1789, and in 1836, the latest return after they had gained their freedom.

There were imported into Great Britain of sugar, rum, and coffee, in 1830 and 1849, from the West India Colonies, the following quantities:

	1831.	1849.
Sugar, pounds.....	459,625,660	141,081,024
Coffee, pounds.....	20,030,802	3,146,776
Rum, gallons.....	7,844,157	4,329,678

*Hayti, or St. Domingo.*

The exports of sugar, coffee, and cotton from Hayti, or St. Domingo, in 1789 and 1836, were as follows:

	1789.	1836.
Sugar, pounds.....	141,089,831	16,199
Coffee, pounds.....	76,835,219	37,662,672
Cotton, pounds.....	7,004,274	1,649,717

Since the revolution the Government of Hayti has varied from republican to

the negro to be emancipated everywhere, he would cease to be a producer of the two great staples of commerce to which we have alluded. The white man could not take his place as a laborer. The result would be the desolation of the warm and tropical regions of America; the destruction, to a great extent, of the commerce and manufactures of the world; revolutions would occur; the progress of civilization would be arrested; the cause of liberty itself would suffer; the laboring masses of the white race, now free, would again, in all probability, be reduced to vassalage and servitude; and the negro race itself, for whose imaginary benefit those appalling results would be produced, would be no better off. He would again relapse into barbarism; again become the victim of his own petty despots; again be overshadowed by his own dark and degrading superstitions, and again become the tyrant over his own blood and kin dependent upon him, holding their lives at his will, and selling them to the merciless and brutal slavery, imposed by men of his own color and race, as uncivilized and barbarous as himself.

Such is the voice of history; such the facts existing at the present hour, and such the probable consequences which would result, if those men who can behold nothing but the enormities of African slavery, can see nothing of good in the whole race, and feel no sympathy nor compassion for the white man, could have their way in the emancipation of the slave. We state these facts for the consideration of

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monarchical in form, but always has been a substantial despotism. It is now a burlesque autocracy, under his sable and sublime majesty, Faustin I.

In support also of the position assumed in the last, we refer to the following extracts from well-known works on Hayti. Mr. Franklin, in his work on Hayti, observes:

"It has been often asserted that the negroes are as capable of receiving instruction in morality, religion, and every branch of science, as the people of any other nation or color. This I shall not attempt to deny; but it may not be improper to say that very few instances have yet been adduced to support such a theory, and that Hayti is an illustration of the contrary being the fact; for with all the advantages, with all the opportunities which Christopher afforded his people to improve their minds and to seek for knowledge in the various branches of science, very few indeed have been found who have raised themselves above mediocrity, while thousands have been found incapable of tuition, or have neglected instruction altogether."

Mazeres, in his letter to Sismondi, speaking of the negroes of Hayti, says:

"The negro is only a grown child, shallow, light, fickle, thoughtless, neither keenly sensible of joy nor of sorrow, improvident, without resources in his spirit or his soul. Careless, like other sluggards; rest, singing, his women, and his dress form the contracted limits of his taste. I say nothing of his affections, for affections, properly so called, are too strong for a soul so soft, so inactive as his."

Mr. McGregor, in his remarks upon the condition of the negroes of Hayti under the government of Petion, says:

"The people, allowed to follow their idle inclinations, indulged in the propensities of the negro race, and to prosecute measures for the advancement of the wealth and prosperity of the country, soon became impracticable. Agriculture was neglected, cultivators relapsed into idle, vicious, and unclean habits. Vice prevailed and the cultivation of the soil was entirely neglected, except so far as mere subsistence rendered necessary."—McGregor's Progress of America, vol. 1, p. 1187.

candid and patriotic men. It is not necessary for the purpose of our argument to justify in the abstract the principle of slavery. We take facts as they are. We treat slavery as it is. We know that God *has permitted it to exist every hour from the earliest periods of history to the present time.* It is not our duty, nor our right, to arraign the government of the Supreme Being, nor to question his justice, for suffering a relation to exist between white and black men, because that relation is denounced by the unreasoning fanatic, the irreverent madcap, or the unprincipled demagogue. We do not question the wisdom nor the justice of Providence, as manifested in its management of the profound and inscrutable problem of slavery. As finite beings, incapable of comprehending the purposes and designs of the Infinite, we humbly submit to his government, hoping and believing that, in the fullness of time, all things will come out right; all evils be removed; the shackles of the oppressed be sundered; and all men be permitted to enjoy the blessings of freedom and liberty, according to the capacities with which they have been endowed by their Creator.

RELATION OF THE STATES BEFORE THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION, AND THEIR RIGHTS AND DUTIES.—We now propose to consider the condition and relations of the States of this Republic with respect to each other, before the Constitution was formed, their respective rights and duties growing out of those relations, and in what respect those relations and rights and duties were changed by the Constitution by which the union of the States was perfected and consolidated.

And here it is proper to remark, that until the Constitution was adopted there was no union of the States—there was nothing but a simple confederation.

Before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, what was the condition and relations of the several States of the Republic with respect to each other? They were independent of each other, and sovereign and supreme in their respective rights and powers. They were in fact *thirteen independent sovereign nations*, and in that capacity or condition, the law of nations applied to them, controlled their relations, defined their rights, and prescribed their duties.

And what were those rights and duties?

In the first place, each State had a right to independence and absolute freedom from the control of the other States, or any one of them, so far at least as its domestic institutions were concerned. It was independent also in all the other rights, capacities and privileges which appertain to sovereign nations. It stood among the other nations of the earth their peer and equal, so far as its national rights were concerned. No other State had a right to invade or make war upon another without just cause. No State had a right to intermeddle with the internal concerns of, or domestic institutions of another State, nor wantonly disturb its peace and quiet. In the next place, the States, at that time, stood upon the common ground of *equality*. One was the equal of the other as a sovereign and independent community. Therefore one State could not interfere with the internal concerns of another; its domestic institutions, its municipal regulations, nor its police arrangements, without violating the rights of that State as a



sovereign and independent community. Each State was bound to respect the sovereignty of the others, and all the rights which appertained to that sovereignty, as our nation at the present day is bound to respect the sovereignty and rights of other nations.

Such was the condition, the relations, rights and duties of the several States of this Union, with respect to each other, before the Constitution was adopted.

And what is the penalty prescribed by the law of nations for the violation, by one nation or State, of the rights of another sovereign and independent State?

That penalty is *war*. The law of nations gives the right of war to the injured nation or State, for such invasions of its rights and peace. Nay, it authorizes all nations to make war upon, and even to exterminate, a meddlesome and mischievous nation, which wantonly and wickedly invades and disturbs the peace and domestic tranquillity of other nations.

In support of these propositions we refer the reader to the following extracts from Vattel's *Law of Nations*.

With respect to the *Equality of Nations*, that distinguished writer says :

"Since men are naturally equal, and a perfect equality prevails in their rights and obligations, as equally proceeding from nature—nations, composed of men, and considered as so many free persons, living together in a state of nature, *are naturally equal*, and inherit from nature the same obligations and rights. Power or weakness does not in this respect produce any difference."—Vattel, Introduction, sec. 18, p. 62.

And with respect to the *right of nations* the same author adds :

"A nation is mistress of her actions so long as they do not affect the perfect and proper rights of other nations. \* \* \* If she make an ill use of her liberty, she is guilty of a breach of duty; but other nations are bound to acquiesce in her conduct, since they have no right to dictate to her."—Same, sec. 20, p. 63.

"It is an evident consequence of the liberty and independence of nations *that all have a right to be governed as they think proper, and that no State has the smallest right to interfere in the government of another*. Of all the rights that can belong to a nation, sovereignty is, doubtless, the most precious, and that which other nations ought most scrupulously to respect, if they would not do her an injury."—Same, p. 155, section 54.

"And since the perfection of a nation consists in her aptitude to attain the end of civil liberty—and the perfection of her condition, in not wanting any of the things necessary to that end—no nation ought to hinder another from attaining the end of civil society, or to render her incapable of attaining it. This principle forbids nations to practice any evil manœuvres tending to *create disturbances in other States, to foment disorder, to corrupt its citizens, to alienate its allies*, to raise enemies against it, tarnish its glory, and to deprive it of its natural advantages."—Same, p. 142, sec. 18.

"Every nation as well as every man, has a right to prevent other nations from obstructing her preservation, her perfection and happiness—that is, to preserve herself from all injury."—Same, p. 154, sec. 49.

And touching the *penalty for the disturbing of one nation by another*, Vattel says :

"If, then, there is anywhere a nation of a restless and mischievous disposition *ever ready to injure others, to traverse their designs, and to excite domestic dis-*

*turbance in their dominions*—it is not to be doubted that all the others have a right to form a coalition in order to redress and chastise that nation, and to put it forever out of their power to injure them."—Same, p. 154, sec. 53.

And Vattel also remarks that one of the foundations of a just war is, exciting domestic disturbance in the dominions of another nation.

Other writers on international law concur in the propositions above laid down by Vattel. And candid and intelligent men must admit, that they are but the truthful expression of the dictates of national right and justice which constitute the basis of that code which defines the relations and rights, and prescribes the duties of nations.

Such, therefore, are the relations and rights, and such the duties, with respect to themselves and to each other, of sovereign and independent nations. And such were the relations, rights, and duties, of the several States of this Union, before the Constitution was adopted.

Therefore, if one State had interfered and meddled with the internal concerns of another State—attempting to subvert its domestic institutions, and to excite insurrection or insubordination among a portion of its subjects or people, by emissaries or incendiary publications, or by any other means—the injured State would undoubtedly have had the right to make war upon the defending State; and other States would have had the right to join in administering wholesome chastisement to the mischievous and aggressive State, even to extermination, if her mischievous disposition could not otherwise have been corrected and restrained.

**RELATIONS, RIGHTS, AND DUTIES OF THE STATES AFTER THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION.**—Such being the condition, relations, rights, and duties of the several States of this Union with respect to each other before our Constitution was adopted, did that compact deprive them of their independence and sovereignty? And were these relations, rights, and duties changed by it?

We have not, in the limits which we have assigned to this essay, the space to go into a particular and specific view of the various provisions of the Constitution respecting the powers, rights, and privileges of the States which adopted it. It is sufficient to remark that it was adopted mainly for the purpose of establishing a general agency or government, which was to take charge of the exterior or foreign relations of the States. It also defined and regulated the intercourse of the States and their citizens with each other.

It did not meddle with the internal concerns of the States except with regard to the power of taxation for the support of the General Government which it established, the regulation of commerce between the States, and the right of controlling the people of all the States only so far as it was necessary to carry its own *specifically defined* powers into execution. Under the Constitution, the General Government cannot abolish the freedom of speech, nor of the press, nor the rights of conscience with respect to the worship of God, nor the trial by jury in any of the States. Nor can it partition their Territory, nor meddle with their domestic institutions or municipal regulations, nor in any way control their internal legislation or policy when it does

not conflict with the legislation or powers of the General Government, as authorized and granted by the Constitution.

The Constitution in fact, established a political copartnership between the several States, for certain specifically defined purposes, and provided a general agency, or government, to carry into effect and execute the objects of that copartnership. And for this purpose the Constitution granted to this General Governmental agency certain powers, expressly reserving to the States, the principals of this general agency, all powers not specifically granted to it.

Thus the States did not, by the Constitution, surrender or cede away any part of their sovereignty and independence; they merely authorized the general agency which they established, to represent and to act for them as far as foreign nations were concerned, and so far as their general relations with each other were involved—to exercise the joint sovereign power of the whole for a few limited and specific purposes: reserving for themselves the enjoyment of all their other rights of sovereignty and independence.

This delegation of sovereign powers to the General Government by the States, through the instrumentality of the constitutional compact between them, and for the purposes specifically set forth therein, *was upon the implied condition that those powers should not be exceeded nor abused*; that the articles of copartnership, known as the Constitution, should not be violated by the General Government, which is the common agent of all the States; and if they were, as in all other copartnerships, the compact would be violated and might be dissolved by an authority or power high enough to pronounce on so momentous a question. That authority, or power, *is the people of the several States*. It is not the people of one State, as held by some commentators on the Constitution, but the people of *all the States*. For the people of one State have as much right to say that the compact has not been violated as the people of another State have to say that it has been violated. And, therefore, one State cannot break up this great and beneficent Government and subvert the Union when it imagines itself so much injured as to justify a resort to measures designed to effect its disruption and dissolution.

But these are not practical ideas. They are mere abstractions. And they will not weigh a feather on either side when the doctrine of secession is put to a practical test. Then it will become a matter of fact, to be dealt with according to the exigencies and stern necessities of the moment. At no period will all the States consent to disunion, or secession, which means the same thing. And when it takes place, it must be dealt with like all other questions between sovereigns and equals; by negotiation first, and if that can not solve it, by force—by the *ultima ratio*; therefore, this Union will not, and cannot, be dissolved by one State—perhaps not by two; but if there are enough that feel so much aggrieved as to resort to the desperate remedy of disunion, they may accomplish it against the will of the other States, which would be revolution. If they should be strong enough to forbid the possibility of coercing them back by force, they may secede peaceably; if they are not strong enough, the attempt may lead to

war—to civil war—with its terrific train of anarchy, bloodshed, desolation and calamity to both parties.

We neither hope nor expect to see such calamities befall this Republic, but the bare possibility that they may occur enjoins on the people and the States the necessity of cultivating a spirit of union, good fellowship and peace with each other.

But to return from this digression; our purpose was to inquire whether or not the Constitution in any way changed the relations, rights and duties of the States with respect to each other? And whether it gave one State any more right to interfere with the internal affairs of another State than it had before the Constitution was adopted? The reply to these inquiries must be in the negative. *It did not.* It left all the States as before—equal, independent and sovereign with respect to each other. It gave to neither the right to intermeddle with the domestic concerns and institutions of the others. Nor did it give the General Government the right to do so, except so far as it was specifically authorized by the Constitution.

**THE PRIVILEGES OF THE STATES ENLARGED BY THE CONSTITUTION.**—On the contrary, the several States, parties to the compact not only forebore to stipulate for the right to intermeddle with the internal affairs of each other, but *they expressly stipulated to enlarge the privileges of the States in which slavery existed with respect to that institution—to concede to them more than they were entitled to by the law of nations, and more than they enjoyed before the adoption of the Constitution.*

This proposition may be startling to those who have clamored so loudly against slavery, and, perhaps, to quiet and moderate minded men who have said and done reading upon the subject. But it will, nevertheless, appear to be true to the very letter, when we recur to the constitutional compact, and ascertain what those stipulations are. Let us see what they were.

The first of them relates to *slave representation*. It provides that, in estimating the basis of representation and direct taxation, five slaves should be counted as three freemen.

The second stipulation provides for the *abolition of the foreign slave-trade*.

And the third provides for the *extradition of fugitive slaves*.

As these provisions or stipulations were the subjects of dispute and debate in the Convention which formed the Constitution—one party opposing, and the other insisting upon them—they became the subjects of concession, compromise, agreement, and settlement.

**COMPROMISES OF THE CONSTITUTION RELATING TO SLAVERY.**—The importance of these compromises of the Constitution touching the subject of slavery, justifies the appropriation of a short space to a summary history of their origin and introduction into that instrument.

The first and most important of these compromises relates to the *ratio of slave representation*. Its history is indeed curious and interesting; and when it is fully known, just and candid men in the non-slaveholding States, will be surprised at the noise and clamor



which has been raised in this (the northern) portion of the Union against it, and the efforts which have been made by at least one New England State, (Massachusetts,) to effect its expurgation from the Constitution.

The germ of this provision of the Constitution is to be found in the proceedings of the old Continental Congress. It originated in the form of propositions to incorporate into the old articles of Confederation a *new principle of taxation*, and was advocated on that ground by the friends of the proposition. The following was the proposition:

"ART. 2. All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence, and allowed by the United States assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several Colonies, in proportion to the number of inhabitants of *every* age, sex, and *quality*, except Indians not paying taxes, in each Colony."

The proposition was opposed by Mr. Samuel Chase, of Maryland, on the ground that it included negro slaves, who were property.

To this objection, Mr. John Adams, of Massachusetts, replied that the number of persons was to be taken by the article *as an index of the wealth of the State*, and not as subjects of taxation. He contended that it was not a matter of importance by what name people were called, whether freemen or slaves. *They were to be regarded in reference to their productive power*; and, in this respect, there was no difference between freemen and slaves.

When the vote was taken, the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania voted in favor of the proposition, and, of course, to include slaves; and the States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina against it; Georgia was divided. These facts will be found set forth at large in the Madison Papers, pages 28 to 30.

These proceedings took place in the old Continental Congress. When the Convention for forming the present Constitution of the United States assembled, the proposition again came up, not only as a principle of *taxation*, but one more important, viz: *representation*, was connected with it.

The compromise finally effected in reference to this matter was, that in fixing the ratio on which representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the States; five slaves should be counted as equal to three white persons. The following was the vote of the States upon the adoption of this compromise; in favor of it: *New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania*, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia; against it, New Jersey. See Madison Papers, page 1266.

Thus was the first great compromise of the Constitution adopted by the almost unanimous voice of the free, as well as the slave States.

The second compromise was in reference to the limitation of the time during which slaves should be imported into the Union; in other words, *the suppression of the foreign slave-trade*.

The clause of the Constitution relating to this matter, as reported by the Committee of the Convention to whom the subject was referred,



prohibited the importation of slaves after the year 1800. General Pinckney, of South Carolina, moved to strike out 1800 and insert 1808. This was, in substance, a proposition to *extend the foreign slave-trade eight years*. Did the free States vote against it? By no means. Three of them voted in favor of the amendment, *and to extend the slave-trade*. In the affirmative were *New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut*, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. In the negative, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia.

The third and last compromise in reference to slavery was the clause in the 4th article of the Constitution which gave power to the master to pursue and recapture his fugitive slave. This proposition was then deemed so manifestly just and necessary that no opposition was made to it. The clause was adopted *unanimously*; all the States, free and slaveholding, voting for it, as appears by the Madison Papers.

Such is the history of the adoption of the celebrated compromises in the Constitution in reference to slavery.

They are *conditions* in the compact, without the adoption of which, the Constitution would never have been formed, and the Union would never have existed. Now, if they shall be broken and repudiated by the people of the North, does it not absolve the slaveholding States from all obligation, legal or moral, to abide by the Constitution and remain in the Union? Can compacts be broken by one of the contracting parties, and be held binding upon the other? The proposition need but to be stated to demonstrate its absurdity. And if, after the *conditions* on which the Union was formed, shall have been broken by the free States, or by the General Governmental agency which all the States have jointly established, the slaveholding States shall remain in the Union, will it not be from their own free choice, rather than from any legal or moral obligation binding on them to remain? The answer is palpable to every just and right minded man.

**BENEFITS OF THE UNION TO THE NORTH AND SOUTH RESPECTIVELY.**—We now propose to consider the relative benefits of the Union to the two great antagonistic sections, the North and South—we say antagonist sections, not antagonist in real interests, but antagonist in hostile sentiment, incited and wrought up by the machinations of wicked and corrupt demagogues, seeking their own political aggrandizement at the hazard of the best interests, nay, the tranquility and the very existence of their country. Such is the origin and the cause of the antagonism of the two great sections of our glorious Union, whose real and true interests, instead of being diverse and hostile, are mutual and concurrent, and equally depend upon the peace and integrity of the whole country and the development of its illimitable resources.

But we propose to consider briefly the *benefits* which have resulted from the Union to both its great sections, the North and the South, respectively.

From the beginning of this unfortunate sectional controversy, which assumed a specific and tangible form among the Federalists of New England, and in the Hartford Convention during the war of 1812, the fomenters of it have constantly alleged that all the benefits and ad-

vantages resulting from the Union, have been enjoyed by the South; and that, in every collision of interest between the two great sections, the North has *yielded* everything and the South has *gained* everything.

Such is the stereotyped assertion of the traitorous fomenters of this unfortunate, and it may be, fatal quarrel between the North and South. It is an assertion, however, in direct opposition to the facts, as we will now proceed to show.

And, in the first place, we will now proceed to show the advantages which the North has gained over the South in *the acquisition of new territory* since the formation of the General Government, and consequently, in *political power*; for the acquisition of new and valuable territory always adds to the wealth and political power of the State or community acquiring it.

Immediately after the Revolution, and before the ordinance of 1787 was passed, the whole territory belonging to the United States was not far from 764,483 square miles, of which only 163,592 square miles were free and 600,891 square miles were slaveholding.

In 1784, Virginia ceded to the United States the territory known as the northwest territory, which included the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of the Territory of Minnesota. In 1787, the celebrated ordinance before mentioned for the government of those territories, was passed, by which they were to be free States. Involuntary servitude, or slavery, was abolished within their limits. Thus the great and patriotic State of Virginia, the mother of Presidents and the expounder of the true theory of the Constitution embodied in the Report and Resolutions of 1798, magnanimously *surrendered* to *freedom* more than 240,000 square miles—a territory larger than the Empire of France.

After this cession, and at the adoption of the Constitution, the relative amounts free (or which afterwards became free) and slaveholding territory, stood thus:

Free.....	382,937 square miles.
Slaveholding.....	381,546 " "
Balance of free territories.....	1,391 " "

Table showing the territory possessed by the United States when the Constitution was adopted, which is now free, viz:\*

States.	Square miles.	States.	Square miles.
Maine.....	30,000	Pennsylvania.....	46,000
New Hampshire.....	9,280	Ohio.....	39,964
Vermont.....	10,212	Indiana.....	33,809
Massachusetts.....	7,800	Illinois.....	55,405
Rhode Island.....	1,306	Michigan.....	56,243
Connecticut.....	4,674	Wisconsin.....	52,924
New York.....	46,000		
New Jersey.....	8,320	Total.....	382,937

\* Mr. Burke does not use the corrected figures of the Compendium of the Census which differ slightly from these.—EDITOR.

*Table showing the territory possessed by the United States at the adoption of the Constitution, in which the institution of slavery now exists, viz :*

States.	Square miles.	States.	Square miles.
Delaware.....	2,120	Mississippi.....	47,156
Maryland.....	9,356	Tennessee.....	45,600
Virginia.....	61,352	Kentucky.....	37,680
North Carolina.....	45,000	District of Columbia.....	60
South Carolina.....	24,500		
Georgia.....	58,000	Total.....	381,546
Alabama.....	50,722		

The area of the territory of the United States now comprises 3,210,572 square miles; of which 2,366,428 are free, and 844,144 are slaveholding.

Since the adoption of the Constitution the area of new territory acquired by the United States is 2,446,089 square miles; of which 1,983,491 are free, and 462,598 are slaveholding.

*Table showing the free territory acquired by the United States since the adoption of the Constitution, viz :*

States and Territories.	Square miles.	States and Territories.	Square miles.
Iowa.....	50,914	Nebraska and Kansas†....	136,700
California.....	188,982	Indian Territory.....	187,171
Minnesota*.....	83,000	Northwest Territory.....	587,564
Oregon and Washington...	341,463		
New Mexico.....	219,774	Total.....	1,983,491
Utah.....	187,923		

*Table showing the slaveholding Territory acquired by the United States since the adoption of the Constitution, viz :*

States.	Square miles.	States.	Square miles.
Louisiana.....	46,431	Texas.....	237,821
Arkansas.....	52,198		
Missouri.....	67,380	Total.....	462,598
Florida.....	59,268		

Thus it appears by the irrefragable evidence of facts and figures, that after the magnanimous cession of Virginia in 1784, and the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787, the largest portion of the area of territory belonging to the Union has been free. And of the territory since acquired, three-quarters have been reserved for the institution of freedom.

And the same is true in regard to the *balance of political power*. At the adoption of the Constitution there were *seven* free States, or States which have since abolished slavery; and *six* slaveholding States. There are now *sixteen* free States and *fifteen* slaveholding States.

And since the adoption of the Constitution the balance of political power in Congress has generally remained with the free States as will be seen by the following table :

\* A portion of Minnesota was embraced in the cession of Virginia and is covered by the Ordinance of 1787.

† We class these States as free. The establishment of slavery in them depends upon the decision of the people, precisely as in New Mexico and Utah.

Table showing the apportionments of Representatives of the several States in Congress under the Constitution, and the various Censuses, from 1800 to 1850, inclusive.

	FREE STATES.						
	Under the Constitution.	1802.	1811.	1823.	1832.	1842.	1852.
New Hampshire.....	3	5	6	6	5	4	3
Massachusetts.....	8	17	10	13	12	10	11
Vermont.....	0	4	6	5	5	4	3
Rhode Island.....	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
Connecticut.....	5	7	7	6	6	4	4
New York.....	6	17	27	34	40	34	33
New Jersey.....	4	6	6	6	6	5	5
Pennsylvania.....	8	18	23	26	28	24	25
Ohio.....	0	0	6	14	19	21	21
Maine.....	0	0	0	7	8	7	6
Indiana.....	0	0	0	3	7	10	11
Illinois.....	0	0	0	1	3	7	9
Michigan.....	0	0	0	0	0	3	4
Wisconsin.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Iowa.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
California.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total.....	35	76	93	123	141	135	144

SLAVE STATES.

Delaware.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Maryland.....	6	9	9	9	8	6	6
Virginia.....	10	22	23	22	21	15	13
North Carolina.....	5	12	13	13	13	9	8
South Carolina.....	5	8	9	9	9	7	6
Georgia.....	3	4	7	7	9	8	8
Kentucky.....	0	6	10	12	13	10	10
Tennessee.....	0	3	6	9	13	11	10
Alabama.....	0	0	0	2	5	7	7
Mississippi.....	0	0	0	1	2	4	5
Louisiana.....	0	0	0	3	3	4	4
Missouri.....	0	0	0	1	2	5	7
Arkansas.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Texas.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Florida.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total.....	30	65	78	89	99	87	90

Difference in favor of free States..... 5    11    15    34    42    48    54

Northern majority in 1789..... 5

Northern majority in 1852..... 54

Gain in favor of the free States..... 49

In the Senate the relative political power of free and slaveholding States, at the same dates, of the apportionment of Representatives, was as follows, viz:

	1790.	1802.	1811.	1823.	1832.	1842.	1852.
Free States....	14	16	18	24	24	26	32
Slave States....	12	16	16	24	24	24	30

There are now six organized territories in the Union, all of which, we have no doubt, will come in free. Thus the balance of political power was with the free States at the adoption of the Constitution, is now, and in all probability will be, as long as the Republic shall exist.

In connection with this subject it is proper to remark, that the *North has never given up a foot of land to slavery*, while the South has surrendered to freedom as much territory, originally slave, as would now more than equal the area of all the slave States. In the first place, the slave States gave up their rights in the Northwestern Territories by the Ordinance of 1787; and they also surrendered the whole Louisiana purchase, except Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri. This vast Territory, surrendered to freedom, embraced an area of nearly 1,000,000 square miles, and includes the State of Iowa, and the Territories of Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon, Washington, and Minnesota. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise opens to the actual settlers of Nebraska and Kansas the settlement of the question as to the establishment of slavery in those Territories. The present indications are, that they will both be admitted as free States.

As to the Presidents of the United States, there have been fourteen in the whole, viz :

*From free States.*

John Adams,  
John Q. Adams,  
Martin Van Buren,  
Wm. H. Harrison,  
Millard Fillmore,  
Franklin Pierce.

*From slave States.*

George Washington,  
Thomas Jefferson,  
James Madison,  
James Monroe,  
Andrew Jackson,  
John Tyler,  
James K. Polk,  
Zachary Taylor.

Of these, the first five were elected on account of their great services in the Revolution. The remaining nine may be considered as of the generation succeeding that of the Revolution; and of these, *five* are from the free States, and *four* from the slave States.

And in connection with this matter, it is proper to remark that John Tyler, a *slaveholder*, and Zachary Taylor, another *slaveholder*, who, just before his election, bought a plantation with two hundred slaves, were voted for, and elected by the free Abolition States *par excellence*—by Massachusetts, Vermont, Ohio, &c.—States which have been constantly denouncing slavery, and two of which have nullified the Fugitive Slave law. And it should also be remembered, that Wm. H. Seward, Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, and others of the prominent Abolitionists and loud-mouthed denouncers of slavery, advocated the election of, and voted for, both John Tyler and Zachary Taylor! Consistent jewels they are, and marvelously honest men.

Taking the two Presidents from the slave States who were elected by the free Abolition Whig States, and we have *six* Presidents from the slave States, and *seven* elected by the free States.

Again : the Abolitionists are constantly asserting that the South enjoys *all the offices of the Government*, while the North enjoys but an inconsiderable part of them in comparison with its population. In this matter they are guilty of ignorant or willful misrepresentation, as in all other matters touching the relations of the North and South.



Attached to the public offices at Washington in 1852, (we have no later data,) there were about seven hundred and fifty office-holders, including Secretaries, heads of bureaus, and clerks. Of these, the free States furnished at least one-half.

On the other hand, in the North are the great Custom-houses, Post Offices, and Sub Treasuries. In the three great Custom-houses of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, there were, in 1852, one thousand one hundred and twenty-three persons employed—several hundred more than the whole number attached to the Government at Washington. And, since 1852, the Custom-house officers in the free States have been increased.\* *These are all enjoyed by the citizens of the free States.* There are many hundreds more attached to the large Post Offices, and other institutions of the General Government located in the free States.

In the number of offices and amount of salaries under the General Government, taking the whole Union together, the citizens of the free States have greatly the advantage over the citizens of the slave States.

In the benefits arising from the collection of the revenue, the advantage is greatly on the side of the free States.

From the foundation of the Government to 1852, the cost of collecting the national revenue was about \$53,000,000. Of this sum, \$43,000,000 was expended in the free States, and only \$10,000,000 in the slave States.

In the benefits arising from the expenditures of the General Government, the free States have greatly the advantage over the Southern.

In four years, commencing with 1833, and ending with 1837, the whole expenditure of the General Government was \$102,000,000; of which sum, \$65,000,000 were expended in the free States, and only \$37,000,000 were expended in the slave States. An accurate calculation of all the expenditures of the General Government, from its foundation to the present time, except, perhaps, in war, would exhibit a similar result.

In the benefits arising from the fishing bounties, the advantage is altogether on the side of the free States, and mainly of abolitionized and seditious Massachusetts. From the adoption of the Constitution to 1852 the amount paid out for bounties to fishermen, is, in round numbers, \$11,000,000. Of this sum the South received less than \$200,000, the remainder all going to the free States.

In the expenditures for fortifications upon the seaboard, the advantage is on the side of the free States. The Federal Government

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\* During the financial year ending June 30, 1852, the number of persons employed in the three Custom-houses of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia was one thousand three hundred and sixty-three. The whole number employed during the same year in the whole Union was two thousand nine hundred and thirty-four; of whom two thousand two hundred and eighty-seven were employed in the free States, and six hundred and forty-seven were employed in the slave States. During the same year the whole cost of collecting the revenue was \$3,356,106; of which \$2,679,137 was expended in the free States, and \$676,969 was expended in the slave States. See Guthrie's Report of the Finances for 1854-'5; Sen. Doc. No. 2, 1st session, 34th Congress.

had, up to 1852, expended \$838 76 for every mile of sea-coast in the free States, and only \$545 17 for every mile in the slave States.

The *Lighthouse system* exhibits similar results. The whole sum appropriated by Congress for lighthouses, beacons, &c., in the United States, up to the year 1854 inclusive, was \$2,226,078; of which \$1,190,473 was for the free States, and \$1,035,605 for the slave States—the latter possessing much the largest extent of sea-coast.

The *Internal improvement system* exhibits very much greater incongruities. From the foundation of the Federal Government to 1845, (the latest data within our reach,) there had been expended for roads, harbors and rivers, exclusive of the Ohio and Mississippi, (which are common to the free and slave States,) the sum of \$15,201,223. Of this sum \$12,743,407 was expended in the free States, and only \$2,757,816 in the slave States. The expenditures since then and the amount of public land appropriated to the construction of railroads in the free States, would exhibit a far greater inequality between the advantages derived by the two sections, from such expenditures and appropriations. The specific facts are not at our command at present, or we would give them.

The *Pension system* seems to be equally beneficial to the free States, and detrimental to the slave States. From 1791 to 1838, inclusive, the whole sum paid out for Revolutionary pensions alone, by the General Government, was \$35,598,964; of which sum the free States received \$28,262,597; the slave States receiving only \$7,336,367.

The whole sum paid out by the Government for pensions of all kinds during the four years ending in 1837, was \$10,598,152; of which sum the free States received \$8,010,152, and the slave States \$2,598,101. And of the \$8,010,152, paid out in the free States, New England, the fountain head of treasonable abolitionism, received \$3,924,911, or nearly one half.\*

If we had the public documents from the foundation of the Government to the present time, to which we could appeal, the results which we could show, would be still more striking. We should then be able to present such an array of figures and facts, showing the immense benefits and advantages resulting from the Union to the North, in comparison with those received by the South, as would confound and overwhelm the renegade preachers and promoters of ill-blood between the North and South—stamping upon their brazen foreheads in indelible letters of infamy the hypocrisy, the misrepresentation, the falsehood, and the TREASON, of which they are guilty.

But, we have not the means at hand, but which we know exists, to recapitulate all the advantages which the free States enjoy over the South, through the instrumentality of the Union. Among those advantages we will merely refer to the *great navy yards*, the *National Mint*, *marine hospitals*, &c.

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\* For many of our statistical facts we are indebted to a pamphlet of great research and ability, entitled, "The Union, Past and Future," published at Washington in 1850; to which we refer readers for a vast amount of interesting information bearing upon the relations of the two great sections of the Union, the North and the South.

There is one benefit resulting from the legislation and policy of the Federal Government, so conspicuous and striking, that we should do injustice to our subject, if we were to omit allusion to it. We refer to the *Tariff or protective system*.

Our reference to this subject will be as brief and condensed as the nature of the case will admit.

And first, of the *Cotton Manufacture*. It appears by the last census that the whole amount of capital invested in the manufacture of cotton in the United States, in 1850, was \$74,501,031. Of this amount \$64,361,975 was invested in the free States, and \$10,139,056 was invested in the slave States. During the same year the whole value of the cotton manufactures in the United States was \$61,869,184. Of this amount \$52,502,853 was produced in the free States, and \$9,366,331 was produced in the slave States.

The tariff imposes a duty of 25 per cent. *ad valorem* upon cotton manufactures imported into this country. Before any can be offered for sale at least 10 per cent. must be added to the duty, for the charges and expenses of importing, making the tax on the imported article equal to 35 per cent. on the first cost. This increases the price of the foreign article to the consumer to that amount. *And it also increases the price of the domestic manufacture to the same amount, viz: 35 per cent.* This goes directly into the pockets of the home manufacturer, and is, in effect, *a bounty given to him by the Government*, which the consumer of his product has to pay. Thirty-five per cent. on the whole value of the cotton manufactures produced in the United States is \$21,653,213. Of this sum \$18,374,998 goes into the pockets of the Northern manufacturers, and only \$3,278,215 goes into the pockets of the Southern manufacturers.

And so of the *Woolen Manufactures*. The whole amount of capital invested in this branch of manufactures in the United States, in 1850, was \$28,118,250; of which amount \$26,858,090 was invested in the free States, and \$1,260,560 was invested in the slave States. The value of the manufactures produced in the United States, in 1850 was \$43,207,555; of which amount \$41,505,363 was produced in the free States, and \$1,902,192 was produced in the slave States.

The duty imposed by the present tariff on woolen manufactures imported into the United States, is 30 per cent. *ad valorem*. Add 10 per cent to the charges and profits of the importer, and the cost to the consumer is increased at least to 40 per cent. Forty per cent. added to the value of woolen manufactures produced in the United States, would increase their cost to the consumers in the amount of \$17,283,021; of which sum \$16,522,145 would go into the pockets of the Northern manufacturers, and only \$760,876, would go into the pockets of the Southern manufacturers.

Such are the *benefits* which the free and slave States enjoy respectively under a system of duties upon imports, which cannot fail to be more or less protective upon the domestic fabric coming in competition with the imported fabric. It will be seen that the advantage is almost entirely on one side, and that on the side of the free States.

BURDENS CONSEQUENT UPON THE PROTECTIVE SYSTEM AND HOW THEY ARE DISTRIBUTED.

Let us now see what are the *burdens* upon the consumer resulting from the protection afforded to the two branches of manufactures which we are considering, by a duty upon the foreign import, and how those burdens are distributed.

The additional cost to the consumer of the cotton fabrics produced at home in consequence of the duty is.....	\$21,658,213
The additional cost to the consumer of the woolen fabrics produced at home in consequence of the duty is.....	17,283,021

Making the whole..... \$38,936,234

The sum of \$38,936,234 must be borne by the North and South in the ratio of their respective populations, or nearly so. Some allowance may be made for the slave population, who consume less of articles imported from abroad, and those produced at home coming in competition with them, than the free laboring population of the North. As our purpose is to show the general results it is unnecessary for us to go into a consideration of this difference. We, therefore, make our calculation upon the basis of population alone, without regard to condition. The population of the free States in 1850, was 13,599,491; of the slave States, 9,658,232. The ratio of the populations of the two sections of the Union is about as 9 is to 7; and in that proportion the *burdens* imposed by the tariff system on the consumers of the cotton and woolen fabrics manufactured in the United States, by reason of the enhanced value caused by the duties upon the foreign fabrics of like kind, must be borne by the North and South. Divided into that ratio, the \$38,936,234 imposed upon the consumers of domestic cotton and woolen fabrics by the tariff system, would fall upon the two sections of the Union as follows:

On the free States.....	\$21,901,631
On the slave States.....	17,034,603
Total.....	\$38,936,234
Thus the Southern consumers pay under this system....	17,034,603
And the Southern cotton manufacturers receive.....	\$3,278,215
And the Southern woolen manufacturers receive.....	760,876
Total.....	\$4,039,091
Leaving a balance against the South of.....	12,995,602
On the other hand, the Northern cotton manufacturers receive.....	\$18,374,998
And the Northern woolen manufacturers receive.....	16,522,145
Total.....	\$34,897,143
And the Northern consumers pay.....	21,901,631
Leaving a balance in favor of the North of.....	\$12,955,512

If we were to go into a calculation of the difference of consumption in the South in proportion to population, in consequence of a portion of the population being slaves, it would vary the results above but a very few millions of dollars. The burdens would be greatly against the South, and the benefits greatly in favor of the North.

ART. VII.—RUSSEL'S MAGAZINE FOR JULY.

RUSSEL, for July, has more than realized the earlier prestige achieved in the pages of Young Democracy on Politics and Literature—not only in the variety of its prose and poetic recreations, but in the number of its readable leading articles. The two first on the pages of this monthly, are on those enduring subjects—"Conflict of Capital and Labor," and on "Eloquence"—which have occupied, indeed, distracted the minds of "Political Economists," and the erudition and taste of classical scholars for the last century, without approximating to a solution of either. Such would seem, on perusal, to be the triumphs of these two articles—the *first*, of ability and originality of thought; and the *second*, more racy in its conceptions—photographing the lights and shades of Anglo-American oratory and itinerant lecturing, as more declamatory than eloquent—"verba et preterea nihil"—moonlight reflections; vapors mystifying what they conceal, and converted by their *inflammability into escape steam*.

Neither of the articles have shown any advance in the science of conciliations, between capital and labor, in their endless antagonisms, or exhibited any higher achievements in eloquence, even on the virgin soils, and in the inspiring atmosphere of progressive America, than are to be found in the models of Greek, Roman, and meridian British history. We have truly degenerated in letters from the "old fogysm" of the age of Queen Anne, and departed in our practices in an extended commerce, and in the courtesies of national intercourse, from the enlightened "Merchant Princes" days of the Roscoes, and of the De Medeci. Licentious speculations on the part of capital, in this excitable and aggressive—we might almost say anarchical—age, in the school of political economy, overstimulating hazardous adventure or perverted enterprise beyond the availability of labor and production, have widened the breaches between those ever-contending elements in a social, political system. While "eloquent preaching," "pulpit oratory," congressional effervescences, itinerant lecturing, and hot-bed effusions, for an impatient and fastidious market of *cheap vegetables and fruits*, have rather exhibited in the crystal palace of Anglo-American literature, a vulgar retrocession from the higher models of the Greek and Roman schools, and an awful backsliding from the golden British age, which drew its inspirations from the crystal founts of ancient classical waters—

"Though deep, yet clear,  
Though gentle, yet not dull,  
Strong, without rage,  
Without o'erflowing full."

The conflict of "capital and labor," excited and inflamed by the over-augmentations of the former, with its unsatisfied usurious exactions, are widening daily the breaches with the just claims of labor, and "strikes" for equality in the distribution of profits, if not to be harmonized in some equitable rule of division in a recognized calculus of the economists, professing to have worked out the problem. These collisions must descend to agrarianism, the numerical stronger of the



parties in the ascendant, revolutionizing the whole of the spoil, until capital shall again concentrate and recombine in the hands of the "idlers" and the few, and be restimulated in its antagonisms with labor, in all their changeable and vibratory relations, under a social system.

Influenced by this same rude spirit of speculation, mental labor and asperations, recoiling from that starving ambition for excellence in the fields of flowers and of fruit, (to which the gifted savage became a victim in reality, and the pinions of many an inspired genius have been clipped in their flight to Parnassus,) seek the profits on the production of letters in the marts of commerce. Literature descends to *petty trading*, and the profitable interchanges of their commodities and unmeaning tracts stimulate the market to an over issue of the rudest fabrics of net-work and buckram, "Olla, Po, dredas," promising the most remunerating returns from the auction sales of traveling and screaming carrier pigeons of a go-ahead literature; or, as most in harmony with the vulgar appetites of the largest number of consumers who squat daily on the stool of criticism and penance—"like the dogs that return to their vomit, and the hogs which wallow daily in their mire. In this enlightened age, and in a new continent claiming intenser light as its inheritance, such may be considered the photograph of its literature and learning, overshadowing the classical schools of Greece and of Rome, and of their reviving influences in the palmy days of France, England, and of Spain, "the rag bags" of the Fanny Ferns enriching the producers, while Goldsmith, with difficulty, realized the value of a modern meal for his beautiful illustration of the passing wealth of his "Vicar of Wakefield," or forty pounds a year.

Was the great Napoleon alive, who sneered at Great Britain as a "nation of shopkeepers," he would, with more justice, pass the tribute to go-ahead descendants in their more skillful display at shop windows, and more successful, profitable marts for "petty literature."

MEXICO.—The article on Mexico is one of deepest interest at this crisis in our foreign diplomacy, as our relations with that distracted and still unsettled country are said to be engaging the consideration of the President and Cabinet, as in connection with those of higher issue, which threaten aggressions in the Gulf, and on the coast of Cuba. Our political adjustments in the Gulf of Mexico, and with the three European Powers who claim a common right of navigation on those waters will probably be among the most disturbing subjects of diplomacy to the present Administration. The Secretary of State has already taken the initiatory in a spirit of belligerency; and the sharp lightning of a reconnoissance seems to have been responded to, from both sides of the Senate, with more thunder and menace than the Secretary had compounded for. The political electricity threatening a storm, may have influenced the British Premier to the courteous withdrawal of the "Styx" from the theatre of mischief-making before the explosion. The apology of Secretary Malmesbury for Lord Palmerston's indiscreet misapprehension of the suggestion to "transfer the African blockade to the coast of Cuba" does not, however, sur-

render or repudiate the right of search when the occasion may make it obligatory. Great Britain simply waves discussion on the abstractions, reserving the right to act, when action is imposed on the appearance of a "*suspected pirate*" on the coast of Cuba, or in the Carribbean seas. The alliance of France, Britain, and Spain, whatever of antagonisms may be made visible in their published diplomacy, is in perfect harmony in the American seas; and they are on the political bed of Procrustes; and whatever of seeming derangements there may be in adjusting their limbs to its fair proportions, they originate in which is to be lopped, and which, to be stretched to an equality of dimensions, unless that league for European as well as American equilibriums can be dissolved by the superior diplomacy of the Secretary at Washington, unproved Fillibusterism will reignite its forces on the shores of our Black sea; and the explosions from more than one Sevastapol, will, sooner than anticipated at Washington, reverberate on the coasts of Cuba and the Gulf.

The article opens with an exposure of the aggressive spirit of the age; and on the revival of banditism, under the more popular sobriquet of Fillibusterism—a self-assumed sublimated caste of sympathizers in the cause of suffering humanity. Let the article on this introduction speak in its own pungent language, backed by high authority on "the cupidity of indigent power," and "Anglo-Saxon rapacity," which, in this progressive age, has reappeared under the more inspiring lead of "Fillibusteros."

"The destinies of Mexico, which at an early period inspired the aggressive spirit of Burr and Jackson, exposed the perfidy of Wilkinson, and the vindictive rivalry of Jefferson, seem, in this nineteenth century, to have been revived by a new sect of political propagandists.

"Sympathies in behalf of the enlightenment of oppressed and heathenish humanity have been awakened, and an enthusiasm aroused, long since truthfully foreshadowed by Edmund Burke :

" 'No domain or property is secure when it becomes large enough to tempt the cupidity of indigent power.'

"The Duke of Wellington, of higher authority, as of more experience, speaks of the *rapacity* of the 'Anglo-Saxon' soldiery, '*in the presence of temptation*' as not to be restrained by any discipline however vigilant or severe.

"Socialism in the revulsions of the French revolution anathematized property as '*theft*,' and elevated sedition into a virtue.

"In this model federation of political transcendentalism, Kansas illustrates through 'squatter pauper sovereignty,' and 'aid societies;' and Utah in the 'spiritual book of Mormon,' this strong instinct of indigence, to spoil and plunder, as a more inspiring mode of acquisition than well regulated and legitimately directed enterprise. The one becomes a pastime for the hangers on of society, claiming and appropriating, as an inheritance, the hazardously won trophies of private adventure and honest endurance. The 'wilderness is made to blossom like the rose,' that its fruits and its flowers should be rifled by an ever vigilant and pauper banditti!"

The denunciations of Mexico, and the insulting reproofs on her slow progress to political and social regeneration, as an apology for these missions of humanity to a people suffering under an overshadowing and subduing superstition, are intelligently and plausibly met by a response which shows that the writer has paid more attention to the revolutionary history of that still distracted country, and knows better how to appreciate the efforts made by a people in the infancy of their struggles for independence and self-government, not enjoying, as they confidently expected, the sympathies of a more advanced Federation, in whose footsteps they were ignorantly essaying to walk—and into which, they were precipitated by an American Envoy—inspired himself with all the aluminism of the French school. If Mexico has been slow in reaching the goal of her desires, it is fortunate that she has escaped from the precipitancy of France, invoking the power of the guillotine to exterminate the arch-enemy of liberty, which has itself fallen under the same axe of military despotism.

"Only through careful study, and a correct comprehension of the conflicting elements of disorder in the Republic of Mexico, is it possible satisfactorily to probe the derangements, which have retarded or postponed her advancement to the *serenity of self-government*. To many these disturbing changes have seemed the foreshadowings of dissolution to its social system, or of gradual absorption by an "Anglo-Saxon neighbor," asserting superior intelligence, and *more tutored* faith in the *rules of law and order in political society*. These frequent divisions, however, of the unit of sovereignty, these periodical segregations of the central supremacy, encourage a reliance that they will ultimately prove the political crucibles in which the compound of a federation of States may yet amalgamate in harmony under a central bond. Since the revulsions in Mexico have become strifes for civil liberty and constitutional self-government, the liberal organizations have confidently turned to the United States, as 'the beacon lights,' on the unknown sea of political adjustments. Without studying the origin or different condition of the two countries in population and institutions, a mere *fractional part* of the popular sovereignty of Mexico, with the illuminism of the French schools, embraced the phantom of liberty, like an *ignis fatuus* in a wilderness of ideas, flying before absolutism and a crushing superstition, they could spy no refuge but in disorder and anarchy. The storm convulsing the political elements of civilization, they hoped would be succeeded, as in a neighboring federation, by the silence of a returning calm. On their first triumph, when the empire of Iturbide was overthrown, the liberal party precipitated itself on the cross paths of civil and religious toleration, upon which their Anglo-American neighbors were rapidly advancing; but not before they had been previously exercised by a long probation in the lessons and antagonisms of political and constitutional liberty.

"This British erratic star coruscating from Runnymede in its progress westward, did not shed its light on benighted Mexico, until forty-five years after it had reignited its decaying embers on a new continent in the declaration of *Colonial Independence*; when, having achieved national separation from Castilian rule, the few, to whom its

inspirations were made visible, struck for the freedom of *self-government* as the *inheritance of national sovereignty*. Mexican gossip has recorded that in this political initiation into the dogmas of British liberty, an American Envoy read out the text without its practical illustrations, and mingling the mysteries of masonry with those of the Church of Guadalupe, which exercised a superstitious *sway* over all *Mexico*, the receivers of the new faith were to emply a somewhat bold illustration, launched upon a fiery comet, that takes its departure and makes its reappearance at intervals, within our political sphere; without the intelligence or power as yet to control or regulate its revolutions in a less *erratic orbit around a common centre*. Had the Government of the United States then interposed in the spirit of the Monroe manifesto 'not to regard with indifference the attempts at European re-colonization in the Americas,' instead at this late hour of Mexican tribulations and falterings, precipitating *what* has now been declared as *determined policy*, the land of the Aztecs would have stood erect among the progressive and equally *unfixed Republics of America*. Left thus however alone, in an unequal struggle into which she had been stimulated by a Northern light, untutored and undisciplined in this political school of new readings and interpolations on civil and religious toleration, unaided and unsympathized with by her nearest neighbor in a kindred cause; her failure in the honorable attempt at a re-organization of law and government should not, at least by the United States, be made a subject of contemptuous reproach to Mexican *Eleveés*, yet unmatriculated in the horn-book of self-government, law and order. Indeed it should be more a matter of commendation than of reproach or ridicule, that this inconsiderable and untutored Spartan band, which had, through successive generations, been indoctrinated in the dogma of the divine origin of governments civil, as well as ecclesiastical, just emerging from the darkness of superstition and bigotry; poor in resources and weak in numbers, should for more than thirty years have maintained their *organizations*, and alternated the *powers and authorities* of government, with the overwhelming elements of a most powerful opposition, endorsed too by the diplomacy of European and Salamanca alliances, and ever in vigilant and enduring conflict."

In commenting on the tone of arrogance displayed in all our diplomacy with Mexico, and the initiatory and cupidious negotiations for territorial aggrandizement and political supremacy, the influence they have exerted in alarming and estranging where neighborhood fellowship should be encouraged and cherished, is strongly exposed.

The writer remarks, that in the distrust thus engendered, and the revulsions produced, where confidence once predominated, the United States should not be surprised at the disappearance of respect for their Government and institutions—once looked to as beacon lights on the political paths young *Eleveé's* were traveling, before the more soothing sympathies and ever conciliatory spirit of France, England, and Spain, vigilant and suspicious of Anglo-American designs, and ever, in *hocinto*, to expose and counteract them. The forcible Protectorate, proclaimed from the Senate Chamber by the hero of San Jacinto, a



*synonyme with conquest*, and in prejudice of the Monroe Manifesto, was received as an insult by Castilian pride, which effervesces most under outraged weakness and poverty. The article forcibly and indignantly vociferates, but "Carthaginian faith becomes the symbol of modern Vandalism. The legions of American Rome have pronounced 'Delenda est Carthago.' Mexican Peons and African slaves have become alike objects for sympathising Puritanism in its missions to suffering humanity. With Southern Cavalier and the French Huguenot, Monastism, and Jesuitism have presumed to Christianize the heathen; to open their platos and forests to the enterprises of civilization; to unseal the golden gates to the precious metals; to reclaim swamps; to fertilize deserts; to *preserve* arts and *letters*, and with bloated wealth, to rear up opulent States, and rich commercial emporium. All these trophies of labor, study, and adventure, have been ushered into '*the presence of temptation*,' and the rapacity of 'indigent power,' *demands its reclamation*."

The article, in enlarging on the aggrandizing policy of the United States for territorial expansion, though she has already overshadowed more of the domain of Mexico than could be settled in centuries, by all the stimuli of aid societies, and pro-slavery African traders, thus proceeds:

"Humbling and insulting instead of fraternizing in the spirit of a kindred neighborhood—with offered reciprocations of political confidence of an enlightened commerce—and the humanizing civilization of social intercourse and commercial exchanges in the productions of labor. Toleration, civil and religious; free trade; moderate taxation; subserviency of the monied power to State; no debt; and strict construction of the constitution, have lost their *moralé* abroad, in the overshadowing home policy of politicians for 'place and the spoils,' of antagonizing sections for supremacy of power and patronage, and of mystifying statesmanship in our foreign relations, united with the vulgarity of a domestic and ultra radicalism. The enthusiasm of regenerating States, of struggling republics in the new school of Anglo American toleration, have thus been paralyzed abroad, and superstition and fanaticism retain their ascendancy.

"These readings from our political institutes; these chronicles of disruptions and disagreements on the guarantees for harmony and equality in our political system, have all proved enigmatical and bewildering to the younger American Republics, inspired into a nervous existence by the 'Northern light.'

"These *ignes fatui*,' in the obscurities of a political swamp, have proven greater impediments to the advancement, through the labyrinths of a gloomy superstition to toleration and self-government in Mexico, than the bigoted and hitherto unsubdued opposition, rooted in a long darkened domain. While they have alarmed and discouraged the weaker element, the *Liberal*, in Mexico, struggling for the mastery, they have greatly confirmed the stronger—the *absolute*, in the argument presented, that the United States have not yet consummated self-control at home, or been consistent in their own declarations of non-intervention beyond the political moral of her own teach-



ings abroad, but have declined into a political organization for territorial aggrandizement, stimulating internal anarchy in the divisions of the spoils. The long protracted and heated agitations in the States, resisting federal usurpation of supremacy, without approximating to harmony in our system, every compromise only stimulating to new issues. The Kansas embroglio, with that of Utah, have all become in Mexico as much subjects of retort, on the falterings of our free institutions of law and obedience, without the intervention of the bayonet, as their unadjustment of hearth feuds, between the ever-contending elements in civil society—absolutism and liberty, power and freedom, governors and governed."

That the liberal element in Mexico has not yet been smothered by superstition—that the internal fires of Mexican redemption are not yet quenched by the chilling frosts of bigotry and despotism, that ever whiten her snow-capped mountains; that her volcanoes still belch out their burning lava, on every exciting occasion, are evidences that the torches of civil and conservative constitutional freedom in Mexico still burn brightly. In illustration of this confidence of the contributor to Russel, in the triumph of tolerant self-government in the land of Aztecs—if the policy and diplomacy of her nearest neighbor was more in the spirit of equality and conciliation than of braggardism—he remarks, that "in the feud of party the constitutional free-government of Mexico has been four or five times in the descendant, and in recognized supremacy at home, as well as abroad, and might now have escaped 'as a reproach to free commonwealths,' had the United States sought on terms of equality, those enlightened relations of neighborhood and reciprocal intercourse, which would have proven stronger bonds of union, than the presumptuous attempts to overshadow and dragoon into the annexation and protectorates. But the hallucination of home policy, *sectional supremacy* and *sectional subserviency*, has been insinuated into the diplomacy with our nearest and most distracted neighbor. No statesmanship has been manifested in any of the relations sought with Mexico; no reciprocations of an enlightened commerce treated for; no generous rivalry in enterprises, stimulating the advancement of both to prosperity and security; but like the plantation States of our own Federation, Mexican mines were too tempting to 'the cupidity of unprincipled poverty,' to treat with the possessors as *equals* or *neighbors*. Envoys were lowered into land jobbers for domain, or into agents and attorneys to negotiate the speculations of loafing Americans, seeking contracts in the purlieus of the palace; countenanced by Secretaries of State and endorsed by feed Attorney Generals and confidential Messengers, to keep envoys loyal to their degraded vocation."

The article on Mexico, in a tribute to the doctrine of "Non-Intervention," with the internal regulations and policy of nationalities and States, and to the statesmanship of Mr. Monroe in his early reaffirmation of it, as the rule of relations among the rising infant States of a new continent, claiming a system of their own, concludes, in the application of this great conservative element of *republicanism* and *equality* in our Federation, to separate and independent nationalities:

"It was the declaration of the United States, that while she would sacredly observe it in all her relations with other powers, she could not be indifferent to its infractions by foreign commonwealths towards those under a *system of self-government* of their own in the Americas. Whether the occasion has not arrived which demands the application in Mexico, deserves the serious consideration of this government. It is a dangerous dogma, however, to declare in this Federation, that has its own domestic tribulations to quiet; that "the disruptions and degradations" in a neighboring and unsettled community become an obligation to cast the shield of *conquest* or a *forced protectorate* over her infirmities. "If statesmanship" should be invoked to determine "the manner of this accomplishment," the mode and measure of relief to a suffering and abused State, the response would be, "*leave Mexico alone*," and enforce these relations on the other foreign disturbers of her domestic tranquillities. They have been stimulated more by outside interference, than fire hearth feuds—and the United States has had her full share in the instigation. Mexico is best acquainted with the apples of discord and disorder in her system. What are the antagonizing interests and discordant elements in her political society to be reconciled? In these she is much less a unit; her civil breaches are wider, and more difficult to repair than those which disturbed the United States when she cast off British dependence, and claimed a self-government of their own. In her weaknesses, however, she had to invoke the succor of a powerful ally; and LaFayettes, Stubens, Pulaskies and Kosciuskos rallied to the sacred cause to which its earlier cis-Atlantic votaries had pledged '*life, honor, and fortune*.'

"But British liberty, civil and religious toleration, had, in the American colonies, been near two centuries on the calm journey of reform, to the goal of deliverance and triumph. Not so with still bleeding Mexico. It is scarce thirty years since tempted to eat of the forbidden fruit; inspiring in the knowledge "of good and evil;" expelled from her Eden where ignorance was contentment, she is still progressive in her near forty years' journeyings through a wilderness of ideas; and though faction and dissention agitate in her camp at Pisgath, the promise is still in sight if her propagandist neighbor does not obscure and eclipse it. Though onward, the cross and by-paths to advancement are rugged; blocked up by superstition, and a long subduing despotism; and choked with a barbarism of a semi-civilized and christianized caste, constituting full five-sixths of the entire population of the Republic. To remove this difficulty to the advancement and reform of a deluded land, populated by two distinct castes, *Tobaz* and *Ebona*—the inferior greatly outnumbering the superior—is full of intricacies, involving grave speculations on the influences this history must exercise on the destinies of Mexico. We have incurred responsibilities enough at home to quiet, on the exciting disagreements of castes, not to charter Don Quixotes to more than double them in sympathies for an equally distracted neighbor. In the sympathy and magnanimity of kindred neighborhood, let the United States leave Mexico to work out the problem of her own regeneration, and in her own way. If she is more familiar with the *bayonet* than the *ballot-box*, it is that she can trust the first and not the last; or that, as in the United States, the *bayonet* has been found

necessary to *protect the ballot*. Leave Mexico to herself, and spare to the generous and enlightened people of the United States, the reproof in the invocation of a neighbor in its political tribulations."

"Thy spirit Independence, let me share;  
Lord of the Lion heart, and Eagle eye,  
Thy steps I follow with my bosom bare."

## DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

### 1.—CULTURE OF THE VINE IN THE SOUTHWEST ALLEGHANIES, BY DAVID CHRISTY.\*

#### NO. I.

GENERAL REMARKS ON WINE AND ITS PRODUCTION—POINTS TO BE INVESTIGATED—  
GRAPE ROT IN EUROPE—THEORIES ON THE SUBJECT—AMERICAN VINES IN EUROPE—  
REMARKS—COST OF FOREIGN WINES TO THE UNITED STATES—AMERICAN WHISKEY  
SUBSTITUTED FOR THE JUICE OF THE GRAPE—REVIVAL OF THE EUROPEAN VINES—  
AMERICA DISPROVING THE THEORY REFERRED TO—OPINIONS ON THE SUBJECT—THE  
DISCUSSION TO BE CONTINUED.

The culture of the grape and the manufacture of wine, in all ages, have been objects of much economical value among enlightened nations. With the advance of civilization they have lost nothing of their interest, but, on the contrary, are rapidly growing in importance. This is evident from the fact that the production of wine now falls far below the demand; so far, indeed, that

\* The articles herewith given to the public, were prepared under the following circumstances: As geologist of the Nantahala and Tuckasege Land and Mineral Company, of North Carolina, I had to prepare a report on the mineral prospects of the property of the company, and the value of their lands for pasture and grape culture. The latter division of the subject demanded more extended details than would be appropriate for the report of the company—hence the articles are used only as an appendix to it.

Another motive for adopting this plan, has been to furnish information to other parties who had desired me to communicate the information, in my possession, upon these subjects. The convention of the Greenville and French Broad Railroad Company, which met at Ashville, North Carolina, in August, 1857, appointed me on a committee to report, among other things, upon the agricultural, manufacturing, and mineralogical resources of North Carolina. As I could only report upon the points upon which information had already been collected, the following articles are intended as a response to that appointment—the additional topics contemplated being left for the other members of the committee. I could only confer with two or three of its members, as the post office address of the others were unknown to me.

Another motive for the adoption of this plan exists in the fact, that the Southern Commercial Convention at Knoxville, Tennessee, in 1857, also appointed me on a committee to report on the cultivation of the Grape in North Carolina; but as the official notice of my appointment never reached me, I could not, with propriety, forward a formal report to the Convention of the present year—hence this informal mode has been adopted to meet that case.

The bearings of all the articles will be seen at once by the reader, except that on "Fog and Rain in the Mountains." The facts which it embraces are important, as showing why it is that the mountain streams of North Carolina are so well sustained during summer, and why its highlands will thus be more valuable for pasture than those sections of country where the springs cease to flow in the months of summer and autumn.

adulterated and spurious wines are sold, to an enormous extent, in all markets where the population care not to discriminate between the counterfeit and the genuine. But there is a superadded necessity, beyond that of the mere increasing demand for wine, that, in the opinion of many, calls for its extended production. Legislation has proved itself impotent in the suppression of the curse of intemperance. The people at large are unwilling to tolerate any legal interference with their freedom in the use of beverages. The manufacturers of the common drinks of the country, it is charged, have less regard for the public health than for their own private gains. The deleterious compounds, passed off for wines and brandies, or other popular liquors, it is believed, tend to fire the brain, and produce morbid conditions of appetite which greatly aggravate the mania for intoxicating drinks. Nor is it strange that the avarice of men should tempt them to the adulteration of the common beverages of the people. It is in proof that the ordinary drugs of the apothecary, indispensable to the preservation of life, are now largely adulterated by miscreants whose cupidity would lead them to highway robbery, were their lives as free from danger in that pursuit as in the secret chambers of their laboratories.

It cannot be denied that intemperance is on the increase. The manufacture of ardent spirits, for the last few years, has vastly increased; and there seems to be no probability, under present circumstances, that its use can be diminished. The belief is gaining ground that an ample supply of the pure juice of the grape would displace the noxious beverages now on sale, and greatly promote the cause of temperance. It is also believed that it is no longer safe to administer the common wines and brandies in those classes of diseases where alcoholic remedies are indispensable. Hence there is a double motive prompting to effort for the production of pure wine—temperance and health being both involved in the issue. The present practice of many physicians is to prescribe whisky, as the safest of all drinks, to those who cannot purchase pure brandies or wines at their present costly rates; but this is to encourage the consumption of that article among the class of persons most likely to fall into the excessive use of cheap liquors, and to sanction the employment of a remedy far inferior to pure wine.

Whether, then, the subject is considered in its bearings upon temperance or health, there is an urgent necessity, in the opinion of many, for an extended cultivation of the grape. Under these circumstances, it is apparent that any country, adapted to the growth of the vine, must find it very remunerative to engage vigorously in its production.

It may be well here to remark, that the writer disapproves of the use of wines, or other intoxicating drinks, except for medical purposes, and that he cannot judge of the quality of American wines as compared with those of Europe. This point, therefore, must be left to others, and his investigations limited to such questions as are connected with temperature, humidity, soils, the geology of the districts coming under consideration, and the information needed as to the conditions under which the best wines of Europe are produced.

To gain a correct view of the causes which have recently called public attention to the necessity for extended grape culture in the United States, it is necessary to refer to its condition in other countries, as well as to the results of the diminution of the production of wine in Europe.

For several years past the discouragement to European vine dressers have been very serious. *Mildew* and *grape-rot* extensively affected their grapes, and even the vines themselves suffered from decay. These results led some to adopt the opinion that the vitality of their vines was involved, and that their extinction was not at all improbable. This view was based upon the theory of certain naturalists, who hold that each separate individual, of any vegetable species, possesses a vitality, when produced from the seed, which gives it a duration of existence equal to the first created individual of the species; but that the *buds* or *branches*, used either as grafts or for independent growth, can have no longer duration of life than if they had remained upon the parent plant. That is to say, the propagation from *cuttings* differ from the propagation from *seed* in this respect; each plant produced from *cuttings* must cease to live when the original plant, from which the first cutting was taken, has ful-



filled its allotted period of existence; but each plant derived from seed has an independent vitality, giving it an existence co-extensive with the age allotted to the first one of the species to which it belongs. The term, plant, is here used in its botanical sense, as representing the whole vegetable kingdom.

The vine has been propagated from cuttings for many thousand of years in Europe. The advocates of the foregoing theory, therefore, on witnessing the general decline of the fruitfulness of the vine upon that continent, for the past few years, concluded that its vitality had become exhausted, and that its destruction was at hand. To remedy the threatened evil, measures were adopted to secure cuttings from the youthful vines of the United States or elsewhere, to enable the vintners to commence a new career of another two or three thousand years. Such has been the importance attached to this subject, and such the bearings of the production of wine upon the public prosperity, that even the crowned heads have interposed to aid in testing the adaptation of the native grapes of North Carolina to the climate and soils of their domains. The Catawba and Isabella are now growing in Royal Vineyards; and should the experiment prove successful, these vines will, if necessary, be made to replace the effete European varieties.

Were the diminished supply of pure wine the only result of the late failure of the vintages of Europe, the loss would not be a subject of much regret, except as it affected the poor whose labor was devoted to its production. Men in health have little need of stimulants beyond what their tea and coffee and ordinary food afford. But the use of wine having become general, for ages, both as a beverage and for medical purposes, the demand has not lessened with the diminished production. To supply this demand spurious wines have been thrown upon the market, and accepted by the greater part of consumers as genuine. The extent of this adulteration cannot be determined, but according to the best authorities it has been enormous. The amount imported into the United States, for 1855 and 1856, was valued at \$6,272,770, being at the rate of more than three millions of dollars worth per annum. Of these imports it is believed that very little consisted of pure wines; and the amount of spurious wines manufactured in the United States must have been still greater than that imported. French brandies, also, have diminished with the lessened quantity of wine from which they are produced, and American corn whiskey has been largely exported to enable the French distillers to supply the lack of the pure article by those of a counterfeit character.\*

But the events of the year 1857, together with the history of American grape culture, cast much doubt upon the theory of diminishing vitality in the vine, as a cause of failure in the European vintages. The grape crop in Europe, for 1857, has been an abundant one in many districts. This fact seems to indicate, with certainty, that the vines have recovered their former healthful condition. The American Catawba grape, has been affected, occasionally, by *mildew* and *rot* during nearly the whole period of its cultivation; and, in the last year, especially, the crop was very materially injured throughout Ohio, Kentucky, and the West generally. The fact that the Catawba has been so seriously affected by the grape disease, though not yet twenty years from the native forest of North Carolina, casts an additional doubt upon the theory of lost vitality, from long production by cuttings, as the cause of failure in the vintages of Europe, and demands that investigations shall be conducted in another direction.

The conclusion to which the best vintners are led, after a careful review of the whole question, is, that the grape disease, common to both Europe and America, will be of only occasional recurrence, like the *smut* and *rust* in wheat, the *potato rot*, or epidemics among men; and that while its prevalence in some districts may be too frequent to allow of the continued profitable culture of the vine, in others it may be no more fatal than frosts are to the peach and the apple. But could there be a section of country discovered, having a chemical composition of soil, or an altitude above the valleys, which would yield wines of finer flavor and be exempt from the grape disease, its produc-

\* See Annual Statement of Trade and Commerce, Cincinnati, for 1857.



tiveness of wealth would far surpass every other district devoted to ordinary agriculture. Such a region would be a desideratum to the nation, and it is believed that it has been discovered. The facts from which such an opinion is formed, will be given in the next chapter.

## 2.—THE GROWTH OF ENGLISH GARDENS.

We are so accustomed to certain treasures, both of knowledge and of possession, that we forget how they were first acquired; with what difficulty the most insignificant importation from foreign countries was first made; and how many noble human lives were spent in solving questions, which now that wonderful being, Every Schoolboy, has by heart. Heirs to all the ages, we are too often ungrateful to those from whom we inherit, and by whose infinite pains, trouble, risk, and sometimes suffering, our present goods were gained.

Now, in the special matter of fruits and vegetables, who cares to reflect on the original birthplace of those which are of present daily use and universal consumption? They have become so naturalized and so familiar that we treat them as indigenous; and, indeed, most of us, in our secret hearts, hold a vague, floating kind of belief, that they are British by origin, rather than by adoption, and belong to us by aboriginal grace of nature, instead of by the toil and intelligence of man. For instance, in that commonest of all vegetables, the potato, who ever thinks of the history lying between the present time of national abundance, and the days when those untried foreign roots grew wild and untasted, about Quito? Sir Walter Raleigh, amongst many other great and good things that he did, brought those roots as rare dainties from Virginia to England, in fifteen hundred and eighty-six; but Gérarde, Queen Elizabeth's famous gardener, received them as curiosities only in fifteen hundred and nine-seven. Eleven years had not made them known, or brought them into fashion. What revolutions, too, have passed over society since sixteen hundred and sixteen, when potatoes were eaten at the royal table of France as a regal luxury; though soon after to be abandoned to the commonalty with contempt—since sixteen hundred and nineteen, when they were one shilling a pound, here in English markets—and even since seventeen hundred and ninety, when Suffolk first began to possess them, according to the testimony of Arthur Young. Why, the most important changes which the world has ever seen, have occurred since then. The whole map of Europe has been re-cast, and the whole fabric of human society has been remodelled; countries have been annihilated, and nationalities have been extinguished; while religious dogmas, political questions, and moral views, have all been as thoroughly taken to pieces, and patched into new shapes, as if we had pulled down a baronial castle, and made a row of model cottages with the stones.

The first potatoes grown in Ireland were from tubers, given to Sir Robert Southwell's grandfather by Sir Walter Raleigh. They soon became popular; but no one then looked forward to the time when the poor of the nation would live almost exclusively on them; nor, when a failure in the crop would produce one of the most heart-rending famines on record. An Irish ship, laden with the roots, was wrecked off Lancashire; at least, so runs the tradition; when the potatoes, taking root, soon spread far and wide; and, in a short time, Lancashire was filled and famous. They were introduced into the south of Europe by way of Spain and Italy. The Spaniards brought them from Quito direct, and passed them into Italy, whence they journeyed to Vienna, through the patronage of the governor of Mons in Hainault. It was not until fifteen hundred and ninety-eight that they were sent to Clusius, a year after the time when Gérarde received them. In Spain they were called *papas* and *bolotas*, in Italy *artufi bianchi*, (white truffles), and also potatoes, and—like the French and Germans—earth apples. Potato is our version of *balata*, or *patata* of the south. Houghton says that in Ireland in sixteen hundred and ninety-nine, they were roasted or boiled, and eaten with butter and sugar; it seems to have been quite of late years, that anything like a rational or scientific method of preparing them has been discovered. And even now, few good plain cooks understand the proper manner of cooking them. You may find cooks who can make exquisite soufflés and delicious meringues, ice puddings, vol-au-vents, and all the latest refine-

ments of the Caté de Paris, but, to find one who can properly cook a potato, is as difficult as to discover a new planet, or a new pleasure.

The love-apple or tomato is of the same tribe as the potato. Both are solanums, or nightshades, and both came originally from South America. Chops and tomato sauce were not known two hundred years ago; and the Pickwicks of that day ran one danger the less. Jerusalem artichokes are sunflowers—girasoles—from Brazil. Mr. John Goodyear received in sixteen hundred and seventeen, two small roots, no bigger than hens' eggs, from Mr. Franquevill of London; the one he planted, and the other he gave to a friend. The root he planted produced a sufficient number to supply all Hampshire. But, there is every reason to believe that they were known in Queen Elizabeth's time, though not generally cultivated, nor, indeed, generally known. Society was neither so communicative, nor so democratic as at present; and what the grandees and nobles got for themselves, they did not seek to make general among the people. At first, Jerusalem artichokes were boiled tender, then peeled, and stewed with butter, wine, and spices; they were also made into pies, with marrow, dates, ginger, raisins, sack, &c. The French brought them into Europe from Canada, but their original home was in Brazil. The common artichoke—which is only a more delicate kind of donkey's food after all, for it is nothing but a thistle—was evidently known to the Greeks and Romans; but no one now can trace its birthplace. It is found wild in the south of Europe, Italy, Sicily, the south of France, &c.; but it is a wildling after transportation, not by the dignity of vegetable autochony. It is said that its use had been forgotten in Italy between the time of the Romans and the year fourteen hundred and sixty-six, when one of the Strozzi family brought to Florence some of these dainty thistles from Naples, which had just received a cargo of roots from the Levant. The first artichokes seen in Venice, says Her-molans Barbarus, were seen in fourteen hundred and seventy-three. The artichoke is common in Persia; though it is said to have been carried thither by the Carmelite monks, who transplanted many of the European garden vegetables to Iranistan.

Salsafy—goat's beard, bucks-beard, Jack-go-to-bed-at-noon, Joseph's Flower, Star of Jerusalem—by what name soever it may please the reader to designate it—came from Siberia. It is not of any striking popularity in England, but it is a more delicate kind of parsnip in taste, and might be more cultivated than it is with advantage. The broad-bean was originally an Egyptian; by the by, forbidden to the priests; but it is also found in China and Japan, and has been known for centuries in Europe. The kidney-bean, which means the scarlet runner as well, came from the East Indies; the delicious pea is from the south of Europe, China, Cochinchina, and Japan. The garden carrot was brought from Aleppo, though we have plenty of wild carrots in our wastes and hedges; turnips are partly wild, and partly from Sweden and Holland. Turnips also were known to the Romans: were they eaten with boiled beef and legs of mutton, by those stately robbers in sandals and togas! Parsnips are natives, improved by cultivation; so are cabbages; but cauliflowers were brought from Candia, Cyprus, and Constantinople, to Italy, by the Venetians and Genoese; and broccoli, or little sprouts, came from Italy to France, towards the end of the sixteenth century. Celery is native; good for nothing wild, but, as we all know, one of the most delicious of our vegetables when cared for and cultivated. Cress, horse-radish, and mustard, are partly native and partly foreign. Asparagus is doubtful. It is found wild in some parts of England, and it also comes from the East; but, it is not exactly known whether our garden beds are peopled with improved Britons, or with foreigners. Anyhow they are peopled with esculents which almost deserve the strange kind of canonization given to vegetables, as well as to cows and birds, on the banks of old Nile! Spinach is in the same condition of uncertainty. It was known to the Arabian physicians; and probably by them—through the Moore—introduced into Spain, whence it spread through Europe; but who was the benefactor to the human race who first brought it into use we have no means of knowing. Neither can we raise a monument to the memory of that sainted man who once eat a cucumber in the far East, and, fired by a noble patriotism, pocketed

the seeds for the everlasting delectation of the West. Radishes come from China, Cochinchina, and Japan; beet-root comes from the sea-coast of the south of Europe; endive, from China, Japan, and Italy; vegetable-marrow, (squash,) from America; lettuce, from the Levant in the second instance, but in the first unknown; garlic, from the East; shallots from Palestine; and onions from Spain and Portugal.

Before all these importations were made, substitutes and predecessors were found in plants which now rank little higher than weeds. Dandelion leaves were used as salad, as they are to this day in the North, and the blanched roots served the place of endive; winter cress was also a common salad; so was rocket, which is still used in Italy; bulbous chæropyllus, or chervil, and corn-salad, a velerian, were the ancient lettuces; France, the country of gastronomic paramount above all, knows the value of both, though we have turned them out among the rank and file of weeds. The Viennese are notorious consumers of chervil. Rampion was a salad, so were sorrel leaves; common Alexanders did duty for celery; and skirret, a poor, rank water-parsnip, was eaten cold with oil and vinegar, or boiled, like the cultivated civilized parsnip plainly boiled, even with melted butter in addition. Monk's rhubarb was used as spinach; and even after the introduction of spinach in thirteen hundred and fifty-one, some feeble minded individuals sought to restore it to its former place, to the prejudice of the new plant: English mercury—good King Henry, or goose-foot—is still much cultivated in lieu of the same: Lincolnshire being especially notorious for its wealth in mercury, and its dearth of spinach. Vetches were ancient peas and beans; the leaves of the pepperwort, or poor man's pepper, were used instead of our modern East India spice; parsley was a favorite salad, and young nettles made a *recherché* dish of greens. Borage leaves were used for soup, and the beautiful blue flowers of borage were used for salad and wine, to strengthen the heart. The sea-cabbage, or colewort, was the cabbage most in request; and scorzonera, or viper's-grass, was eaten freely as an antidote to snake bites, actual, or possible. Hume says that "it was not till the end of the reign of Henry the eighth that any salads, carrots, turnips or other edible roots, were produced in England; the little of these vegetables that was used, was imported from Holland and Flanders. Queen Catherine, when she wanted a salad, was obliged to despatch a messenger hither on purpose." But he forgets the common roots and plants which we have now disregarded—more's the pity in some instances—and how the poor made up for the loss of foreign esculents by the use of native weeds.

Of fruits, we have very few of home produce; even the commonest have been transformed out of all likeness with the original stock, partly by cultivation, and partly by the introduction of foreign sorts; so that it can scarcely be said of any of them, that they are purely native. Gooseberries came originally from Siberia; currants, though indigenous, have been so re-crossed with stocks from America, and the south of Europe, that it would be hard to say how much of native juice is left in them. Black currants are wholly American; and the pink, or champagne, are French. Strawberries are indigenous; and are said to have been under cultivation ever since the time of Richard the Second. But, John Tradescant, the elder, who was gardener to Charles the First in sixteen hundred and twenty-nine, and who knew every flower, and herb, and tree, by heart, first saw the strawberry plant, as a cultivated and cherished plant, in a woman's garden near Plymouth. Her little daughter had seen it growing wild in the woods, and had transplanted it to the home garden for sake of its beautiful flower and fruit. If it had been in anything like general cultivation before then, Tradescant, the Paxton of those days, would have surely known of it. Afterwards, Miller saw it in Hyde Park and Hampstead Woods; and gradually it has become a prime public favorite. The hautboy is said to have come from America. Is it not rightly hautbois, or from the high woods? The wood strawberry is in much esteem in France, and the high wood would naturally be the best flavored. Raspberries are indigenous, too, but, like currants, have been crossed and cultivated, till little of the original is left. Bilberries are wild now, and ever have been; so are cranberries; but the best cranberries come from America; barberries are all over Europe, but they were not origi-

nally wild in England. Pears came from the south of Europe to France, thence to England; so did the best kind of apples, though we have our native crab in its full perfection of sourness and indigestibility. The bullen is native and wild; so is the sloe; but the real ripe purple plum came from Asia to Europe, passing from Syria to Greece, thence to Italy, and from Italy everywhere. The green gage is French, as, indeed, are most of the best varieties of almost every fruit. Cherries wild in England as in other parts of Europe, but the best sorts are English neither by origin nor by cultivation. It is said that cherries were first cultivated in the time of Henry the eighth; there is written evidence, however, that they were cried about by hawkers before the middle of the fifteenth century; for, Lydgate, the black Benedictine of Bury St. Edmund's, who lived in the earlier part of the fifteenth century, says in his poem of Lickpenny:

"Hot pescode own (one) began to cry,  
Straberrys, rype and cherries in the rye."

Our best varieties came from Spain and France; and the finest we have are to be found in Kent, that most beautiful garden of England. Apricots came from Armenia. They were known to the ancients, and are mentioned by Dioscorides. Breda, Rome, and Turkey, supplied us with our best kinds; Portugal sent us quinces; the south of Europe, Germany, and America, medlars; the East peaches and nectarines; the south of Europe the sorb apple, or service-tree. In France the wood of the service tree is used by turners and mathematical-instrument makers, also for the gauging-stick of excisemen, and for other purposes. The black mulberry came to the south of Europe from Persia; the white, from Spain and the south of Europe generally; the paper mulberry, from Japan, China, and South Carolina. The white mulberry feeds the silkworms; it is the black which the old Flemish weavers have planted so thickly about London. The olive, also, comes from the south of Europe; and every one knows who first planted the vine and where—with the fatal consequences thereof. Melons are natives of Calmuc Tartary and Armenia; but the best kinds came from an insignificant little village near to Rome. Almonds are East Indian and Chinese.

The first fig tree planted in England was supposed to have been one of the white Marseilles kind planted by Cardinal Pole in the palace garden at Lambeth. It was certainly brought to England in the time of Henry the Eighth; and, as Cardinal Pole had been a great deal abroad, and ecclesiastics are famous as connoisseurs, it is as likely as not to be a true tradition. Another very ancient tree was—and may still be—in the garden of the Manor House at Mitcham, formerly the private residence of Archbishop Cranmer; a third was in the Dean's garden at Winchester. This was of the red kind, and was alive in seventeen hundred and fifty-seven, protected by a rude wooden frame and glass. On the stone wall to which it was fastened was this inscription: "In the year sixteen hundred and twenty-three, King James the First tasted of the fruit of this tree with great pleasure." The tree died, for want of repairs to the frame. Dr. Pococke planted one in sixteen hundred and forty-eight, in the garden of the Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford. The learned doctor brought the slips from the East, and the planting of them was an event of no small magnitude. The black fig tree was first cultivated in fifteen hundred and sixty-two, according to Turner; in fifteen hundred and ninety-seven, Gérarde says of it: "The fruit never cometh to a kindly maturity with us, except the tree be planted under a hot wall, whereto neither north nor north-east winds can enter." But the country which produced vines in the abundance in which they once grew here, ought not to have found much difficulty in growing figs. We wish there were more south walls at the present day, covered with their magnificent leaves and luxurious purple fruit! They came to us from Spain and Asia; but their origin is Asian.

Pine-apples, that royal fruit, are from Africa and the West Indies; oranges and lemons passed from Asia to southern Europe. Genoa was long our nursery for lemons; but, Genoa had gone to Media for her first seeds; now, we import chiefly from Spain and Portugal. The shaddock was brought from Batavia to Japan; and though a citrus, was named after Captain Shaddock, its first importer, from the East.



As to nuts; the walnut is from southern Europe and America, the hickory from America, the hazel originally from Avellino, a town in Naples; hence its name, *Corylus avellino*. Filberts came from Pontus; chestnuts were brought by the Romans from Sardinia in Lydia, to Italy. They are indigenous also in Asia; notably in China, Cochin-China, and Japan. Evelyn says, that the chestnut is a native of Great Britain; and S. Ducarel quotes an old deed of gift from Henry the Second to the monks of Flexley Abbey, by which he grants them a tithe of his chestnuts in the Forest of Dean. The Honorable Davies Barrington says, that it is not a native of Great Britain, and that it is not found wild north of the Trent. It sometimes grows to an enormous size. The famous Castagno di centi cavalli on Mount Etna, was reported in seventeen hundred and seventy to be two hundred and seven feet in girth; but it was supposed that this was more than one tree: another, equally famous, and indubitably single, called *il Castagno del galea*, was twenty-six feet in girth, at the distance of two feet above the ground; instances of extreme bulk and longevity might be multiplied if we had time and space. Our forefathers had but few nuts, though compared to our wealth in that item. They did not import cashew-nuts, or Brazilian cocoa-nuts, or American nuts of various names and multitudinous sizes; but they had beech mast, which they shared with the forest swine, and they made the most of wild hazel. Anyway, we are better off in our gardens than they were; and it is not one of the least of the blessings referable to steam and commerce, that our dinners have pleasanter vegetables, and our desserts richer fruits, than in the days when Queen Elizabeth ruled, or bluff King Harry so nobly brought the heads of sweet women, who had lain on his bosom, to the block.

### 3.—THE PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF RICE.

The following are the number of persons in the East whose food is chiefly rice, either grown on their own soils or procured from each other:

RICE COUNTRIES.		
	Population.	Pounds cons'd per annum.
China.....	450,000,000	40,500,000,000
Hindustan.....	134,301,000	12,060,000,000
Ceylon.....	1,710,000	153,100,000
Mauritius.....	192,000	17,280,000
Japan.....	50,000,000	4,500,000,000
Sumatra.....	3,000,000	270,000,000
Phillipine.....	4,200,000	361,000,000
Java.....	6,000,000	540,000,000
Cochin China.....	15,000,000	1,350,000,000
Siam.....	3,000,000	270,000,000
Birmah.....	4,000,000	360,000,000
Aracan.....	500,000	45,000,000
Beloochistan.....	3,000,000	270,000,000
Malabar.....	1,140,916	102,682,000
Malay.....	300,000	27,000,000
Assam.....	15,000,000	1,350,000,000
Total.....	691,843,916	62,176,062,000

These countries produce other grains and articles of food to some extent, but rice is the chief fare, and when flesh is used it is usually cooked with rice. The consumption of the above countries being about 62,176,000,000 pounds, there remains for export a considerable quantity, which finds its way to the countries of Europe to a greater or less extent, according to the rates of freight and the dearness of food in Europe. The rice of the east, however, then encounter that of the United States, which is largely imported into the most of the countries of Europe. There is a great variety in the qualities of rice. That of Bengal is large grained, coarse and of a reddish cast, and is par-



boiled in Eastern ports to make it keep. Patna rice is the most esteemed of Asiatic rice, but that of the United States is far superior to any other.

In addition to the rice producing countries mentioned in the above table, we may state that the Italian States grow rice largely, exporting on an average to the amount of about eight million francs. Portugal grew in 1851, 11,000,000 pounds. Spain grows extensively on the coast of the Mediterranean. Russia produces a hardy variety of rice on the coast of the Sea of Azof and the Black Sea. Austria grew in 1841, 105,000,000 pounds chiefly on the coast of the Adriatic. In Egypt, and on the Island of Borneo, rice is grown in large quantities. The Cape Verde and Ionian Islands, European and Asiatic Turkey, Greece, and the States of Brazil, New Grenada, Venezuela, La Plate, Paraguay, Uruguay, and the Guianas, in South America, produce rice, and in some portions of their territories in considerable quantities.

The crop of the United States, according to the national census, was in 1840 and 1850 as follows:

## RICE CROP OF THE UNITED STATES.

	1840.	1850.
Alabama.....	149,019	2,312,253
Arkansas.....	5,455	63,179
Georgia.....	12,384,732	39,950,071
Illinois.....	460	.....
Kentucky.....	16,376	5,688
Louisiana.....	3,604,534	4,425,349
Mississippi.....	777,190	2,719,856
Missouri.....	50	700
North Carolina.....	2,820,388	5,465,868
South Carolina.....	60,590,861	159,930,613
Tennessee.....	7,977	258,854
Texas.....	.....	88,203
Virginia.....	2,986	17,154
Florida.....	481,420	1,075,690
Total .....	lbs. 80,841,422	215,213,497

The surplus of the United States, one year with another, exported, ranges from \$2,000,000 to \$2,500,000 in value, and its use in Germany has much increased since the reduction of the duty in 1838. In years of short crops in Europe, the rice of Asia comes in freely, and at rates cheaper than the United States article can be sold. It is, of course, the case that in those years when the grain crops of Europe fail and food is dear, that rice is drawn in greater quantities from those Eastern countries.

A very considerable portion of this rice finds its way to Europe, and the quantities imported into the leading countries were as follows:

	Pounds.
Great Britain .....	413,096,900
Holland.....	110,511,201
France.....	70,000,000
Zollverein.....	60,799,191
Switzerland.....	12,547,311
Denmark.....	7,788,452
Greece.....	1,887,144
Bremen.....	15,101,000
Lubeck.....	1,191,104
Hamburg.....	3,500,000
Total .....	696,021,402.

(U. S. Economist.)

## DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

## 1.—DIALOGUES ON FREE TRADE AND DIRECT TAXATION.

## NO. II.

*D, a Farmer; C, a Politician in office; B, a Planter.*

*D.* The last time we were together, you convinced me that the tariff is unequal and unjust, and against the poor and in favor of the rich. I have been talking to C about it, and he says the tariff is unequal, but the Congress can't make a tax law to bear equally on all.

*B.* I know they cannot if they do not try; and I know they will not try until the people make them. The tariff affords Congressmen too many opportunities of filling their pockets and fattening their kin to be given up easily. Suppose each person in the United States is requested to pay accordingly to the amount of his property, (as we do in Georgia,) will it not be just and equal?

*D.* I asked him that and he agreed it would; but he said the people won't bear it.

*B.* The people! the people! That is always the way with your crafty Talleyrand politicians. When they are required to do something to benefit the country and guard the treasury, and which they have no mind to do, they make you believe they are willing, oh, yes, very anxious. *Who are the people?* I am one, you are one, and C is another. We are willing, and so are all our neighbors. I say, I am willing to pay a tax to support the Government according to my ability, because I believe it to be fair, just, and equal. So are you, so is C, and all our neighbors; and still he tells you they won't and you believe him.

*D.* C says if we abolish the tariff and establish free trade and direct taxes, the Government will send swarms of tax gatherers to vex, harass, and eat us out; and it will cost a much higher per cent. to collect direct taxes than to collect duties on imports by the tariff.

*B.* Who is the Government, that is to exceed the plagues of Egypt? *Your own member of Congress.* Now do you think Judge Warner, or any other member of Congress, will recommend the Secretary of the Treasury to appoint a man in his district to vex, harass, and eat out the voters who elected him? Certainly not; and the Secretary will appoint who the member recommends. Admit, however, that the Secretary and member, from perversity or folly, appoint such a man; how can he vex, or harass, or eat you up, or out? The law says you shall return your property and value it on oath. You do so; then the law says you must pay ten cents on every hundred dollars worth, and you do it. *How can the tax collector harass you?* If he is civil, treat him civilly—if he is insolent, kick him out. But C says the per centage for collecting will be much higher than under the tariff. Admit it; (although I do not believe it;) if we pay direct taxes, so that every man will know how much he pays, the member who votes for high taxes and exorbitant pay, will be turned out, and the revenue will be brought down to one-half or one-third of what it is now; and it strikes me, we had better pay sixteen per cent. for having twenty or twenty millions collected off of us, than to have sixty-four millions collected off of us for eight per cent., or even for nothing.

*D.* Let me hear that; *how* do you make out we will have less to pay or to be collected?

*B.* The money collected by the tariff duties on imports is drawn from the people by small amounts, and is so mixed up with the price of the goods, that no man knows how much he pays, and very few have any idea how much he is taxed, and many do not know they are taxed at all; consequently, nobody watches the Government, and the public funds are squandered recklessly in the wildest schemes of extravagance, or worse still, applied to the basest purposes of corruption to bribe your members to betray your interest, or to reward the favorites of the party in power, be it which it may, for election services. Other

large sums are squandered to buy the influence of popular men to the support of the party. This is one reason why the tariff is so framed as to favor the rich and oppress the poor. On the other hand, if the money to support the Government was raised by direct taxes, each voter would have to know exactly how much he paid; and when the United States collector called on poor young clerks, school masters, overseers, and mechanics, for twenty-five or thirty dollars tax, and on the planter for the same amount on every hundred dollars worth of goods he consumed, and twenty dollars on every bag of cotton he sold, and on the pork and grain farmers for similar amounts, there would be county meetings all over the Union, and every man who voted for the extravagant tax, or for the extravagant appropriations that made such a tax necessary, would be turned out, party or no party.

D. I think that quite likely; but what amount of money do you think will be necessary to support an honest, economical government?

B. That is hard to say; and we can only form a tolerable correct opinion of what can be done, by recollecting what has been done. Mr. Jefferson believed the money of the country better in the pockets of the people than in the Treasury; he acted on that opinion, and the ordinary expenses of the last year of his administration, was three and a half millions, or fifty cents per head—for then the population was seven millions. The population is now about thirty millions; on that data, the ordinary expenses ought not to exceed fifteen millions.

D. You seem to forget our country has greatly expanded since Mr. Jefferson's day, and the expense of living has greatly increased.

B. No; I had not forgotten it. Nor had I forgotten that the profusion, extravagance, and corruption of the Federal Government, which is overspreading the land, has, more than anything else, stimulated and produced that extravagant style of expenditure which renders us the butt for the ridicule of the world. I was, however, about to make the necessary allowance for the depreciation of money, and I think I do so when I say, money is now worth only half what it was then. That would give \$30,000,000. But the country has greatly expanded; I think not much faster than the population has increased. Still, I deny that the expenses of any establishment ought to increase step by step as it expands. For example, our friend Wheatly runs three pair of stones in his mill, at an annual expense of \$1,000; if he were to run six pair it would not cost him \$2,000; I doubt very much if it would cost him \$1,250; consequently, I think I am correct when I insist that the expense of the Government ought not to exceed \$30,000,000. From 1800 to 1810, the sales of the public lands netted \$7,000,000 or \$700,000 a year; the average population was about five million, or one-sixth of what it is now. Seven hundred thousand by six is four million two hundred thousand—which the land ought to produce, everything else being equal. But the wealth of the country has increased ten-fold. Say only five, and multiply four millions two hundred thousand by five, and you have twenty-one millions, which the public lands ought to bring, and probably would bring annually, if the lands were sold as they should be, and not appropriated to build railroads, to be given to companies of rich speculators. It would leave only nine millions to be raised by direct taxes, which would bear very light on thirty millions of people, owning twelve thousand millions of property.

D. Still C insists the per cent. for collecting will be greater than under the tariff, and the people will rebel.

B. Well, suppose the expense for collecting is twice as much as it is, had we not better pay sixteen per cent. for collecting ten or twenty millions out of us, than to have sixty-four millions collected for nothing? But again, "the people will rebel;" you and I, and all the people of Georgia have been paying a direct tax for more than one hundred years, and now they will rebel against a direct tax.

D. How do you mean?

B. You give in and value your property, on oath, to the receiver; nine cents on the \$100 is put on it, you pay that to a collector—that is a direct tax. Under the tariff, the man who brings goods into the United States pays a tax on them

of about \$30 on the \$100—they usually pass through two hands between the importer and the farmer, and each pays the \$30 tax and profits on the tax, until, finally, the farmer who wears them out pays it, and there it ends. This is an indirect tax, because the Government gets by indirection, and the object is to cheat and swindle the people out of more taxes than an honest government ought to collect.

*D.* Is that all? I thought a direct tax a monstrous affair, and I have been paying it all my life and thought it right and still think it right.

*B.* There is another important fact connected with the question of how much money must be raised to support the Government. If our members will do their duty, and stand up boldly and firmly to our interest, instead of giving it up to get the Northern Democrats in power and keeping them in power, the Government need collect no taxes for several years. The Secretary of the Treasury makes the receipts into the Treasury at the close of the political year 1856, \$92,850,117, and estimates the receipts for the current year at \$72,955,310 57, and a balance in the Treasury of \$19,856,636 45—making \$92,811,947 02. Then, the President and Secretary both say the Government can be carried on with \$48,000,000, (I think \$30,000,000 ample,) leaving \$44,856,636. This, with the receipts from the sale of the public lands will be sufficient for three years if the Congressmen are made responsible, by a system of direct taxes; the more especially, if it adds \$30,000,000 or \$40,000,000 from the sale of custom-houses, ware-houses, and all other property of the United States connected with the collection of the tariff duties. Recollect that, I take it for granted the lands will be sold if we resort to direct taxes, and not give to companies of rich speculators, as of late they have been.

*D.* C says the people don't know what taxes they pay under the tariff, and they pay it without grumbling because they don't feel it—that if they had to pay the same directly out of their pockets there would be one universal war about it.

*B.* And do you not understand the meaning of all that? Let me explain it to you. In the first place, however, only half is true. It is not true that the people do not feel the effect of the tariff; they feel it most grievously. Suppose some person knocks you down in the dark, don't you feel it because you do not know who did it—a man or woman; white, black, red, or yellow, or what with! So when a poor man loses \$60 on his three bags of cotton and pays fifty-four and a half per cent. more for goods, and on settling day, fall short \$50, and is issued before the justice, and the execution sells one of his two cows, and his little children cry for milk. I think he feels it if he loves his children, although he may not know the tariff did it, or when he can't send the little bright-eyed boy to school that may be, God made for the highest honors, because he is bare-foot, and ragged, and the ice thick, and the wind cold. I think he feels it if he loves his child. But the people don't know what they pay and pay it willingly; if they did know there would be a roar. Now I understand this Government is a Government of the people for the benefit of the people, and the people are capable of wise self-government; I think I heard C say all that when he was stumping it for Congress. Now he is elected. "Presto change." The people are so stupid, such fools, so mean, so unpatriotic, that they are unwilling to support their own Government; and the men they have chosen to take care of their interest have to cheat them out of enough money to support the Government. Or C may read it another way as so; to feather our own nests we are taxing the people three or four times as much as we ought, and if we let them see it they will turn us all out, and put honest men in.

*D.* You said the other day God made the world for free trade. Why do you think so?

*B.* You must believe, if God had so willed it, he could have made each and every part and portion of this earth to produce all the products of the whole earth. He would have made corn, wheat, cotton, rice, tobacco, and all fruits and vegetables, flourish all over the world. He has not so willed it; on the contrary, no one, or two, or three parts can minister to all the wants of the people of the world, but that each shall be dependant on all others for its com-

forts and enjoyments. I have not a shadow of doubt he so willed it, that commerce should flourish and bring civilization, and science, and knowledge, and peace, and religion, and liberty, and prosperity, and happiness to every people. What can conduce more to this great, this magnificent design of Deity than a free, untrammelled, unobstructed commerce?

## 2.—FREE TRADE VERSUS PROTECTION.

THERE is a numerous class in the Northern States, who have no appreciation of the benefits of the federative alliance beyond the promotion of their individual interests. With them all the legislation of the country must be made subservient to some particular object of Yankee enterprise, or conducive to the general prosperity and aggrandizement of that section. Thus have the insatiable cormorants of Yankee thrift clamored for protection to home industry, by means of high tariffs of duties upon foreign imports. The cotton factories of New England, especially, have constantly besieged the Federal Legislature with earnest petitions for discriminating imposts in favor of domestic fabrics. The price of labor in this country is so much higher than in Europe, as to make it impossible for them successfully to compete with foreign looms. This will appear to full advantage by a comparative statement of the cost of the manufacture of cotton goods in France and the United States. The report of the Department of the Interior reveals the fact that in France one hundred and thirty-eight million pounds of cotton, valued at \$17,500,000 dollars, after having passed through the loom, is worth \$62,000,000; the charge of conversion being in round numbers:

138,000,000 pounds raw cotton, at about twelve cents a pound...	\$17,500,000
Wages, at fifty cents.....	24,500,000
General expenses, interest, and dividends on capital invested and profits.....	20,000,000
	<hr/> \$62,000,000

Thus a pound of raw cotton, worth twelve cents, is sold in France in the shape of tissues for about forty-two cents. Now let us see what a pound of fabrics of the same fineness or quality, manufactured in America, would cost, for this is the main point.

We have the advantage over France in the greater cheapness in raw material. Estimating, then, a pound of raw cotton, delivered at the factory, at six cents:	
138,000,000 pounds would amount to.....	\$8,750,000
Wages, at \$1 per day.....	49,000,000
While in France capitalists are satisfied with from three to five per cent., ours demand from seven to ten interests and dividends, and so general expenses, interests, dividends, and profits will have to be put down at about.....	<hr/> \$40,250,000
	<hr/> \$98,000,000

This is about seventy cents a pound, nearly thirty cents more than the same quantity of tissues cost per pound in France. To make competition at all available under these circumstances, would require an *ad valorem* tax of nearly fifty per cent., when we consider the immense advantages enjoyed by the French manufacturers—*Ex uno disce omnes*. The same result would be obtained by comparing most other articles of foreign and home manufacture. But this statement is sufficient to illustrate the wisdom of the free-trade policy of our Government, and the iniquities of a protective tariff, which serves only to enhance the profits of one small section of the country at the expense of the rest.—*South-Side Democrat*.

## 3.—LUMBER TRADE FROM VIRGINIA TO FRANCE

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, Paris, 8th June, 1858.

DEAR SIR:—I have read your letter of the 1st May, ult., with great interest. The successful establishment of a line of first class steamers between France and



Norfolk is destined to exert a wonderful influence on the prosperity of Norfolk and Portsmouth, on the great works of improvement of Virginia and the contiguous States, and on the relations of the two countries, which have always been, and I hope will continue, to be good friends. The commercial intercourse of the United States and France is mutually advantageous. For some years a policy has prevailed in France, and is cherished by the enlightened head of its present Government, to enlarge its merchant marine, as well as to add to its Navy the best class of ships with steam power. There is but little timber standing in France which is suitable for ship building, and for many years the large supplies of that important material has been brought from the United States. Deeply interested in all that concerns the prosperity of my native State, I learn with pleasure what you tell me, of the new facilities which are being created, to bring to Norfolk and Portsmouth, wood of the best quality for construction and repair of vessels. The surplus beyond your own wants will find a ready and advantageous sale in France. Indeed it is hardly possible to anticipate all the advantages which will result from the establishment of direct trade. At this moment I do not believe that you can make any prospective arrangement for any considerable quantity of lumber, the opportunity will follow the establishment of the line—that should be done with the least possible delay. I will be happy to see it successfully in motion.

With great esteem, your friend,

J. Y. MASON.

EDWARD H. HERBERT, Esq., Norfolk, Va.

#### 4.—MERCANTILE CHARACTER AND SUCCESSES.

WHAT THE MERCHANT SHOULD BE—THE ROCK UPON WHICH HE IS STRANDED—ADVICE.

THE editor of the *Memphis Enquirer* indulges some very judicious reflections in regard to the mercantile profession, which ought to receive especial attention at a time like this, when the commercial interest from one end of the Union to the other is struggling to recover from one of the most serious disasters that has ever fallen upon it. The trouble is, that everybody, now-a-days, hurries into trade at the expense of the agricultural pursuits, and that the standard of excellence has been reduced so very low. We have traders and speculators—and even *peculators*—beyond number, but few MERCHANTS.

Among the multitudes who enter active life with very good prospect, there are few, very few, who do not, in the course of their career become insolvent. A northern merchant, once the collector of the port of Boston, who was given to statistical inquiries, some years ago, announced the fact that only three per cent. of the business men of that city, prior to his time, escaped insolvency sometime in the course of their mercantile career. This may be setting the ratio of insolvents rather high, but it can easily be seen by every observer that nine-tenths of those who enter active business, fail within twenty-five years from their entrance into mercantile life.

The causes of this are obvious. In the first place not one man in ten of those who aspire to be a merchant, have any proper qualifications for the position. The common idea is, that any body can buy and sell goods, and that whoever can buy and sell is qualified for the mercantile profession. On the contrary, the merchant needs an undue share of circumspection, patience, perseverance, industry and economy. If he lacks any one of these qualities, he is almost sure to get shipwrecked; not, perhaps, at once, but in the course of his mercantile voyage. The accomplished and successful merchant has no superior in any profession. The extensive knowledge that he must possess of markets and the causes which produce fluctuations therein; the keen discernment of human nature which he must possess; the perseverance which is necessary to cling to a business which looks unpromising, but which holds out hopes of ultimate success; all these and more than these must belong to the individual who means to become eminent "on 'change."

Such merchants, when we find them, are ascertained to be those who, in their early career, did not scorn the drudgery of their business. They began at the beginning, and thoroughly mastered every step as they proceeded up the ladder of trade. They learned the disposition of men with whom they were brought in contact, and finally could tell at a glance whom it would do to credit with their merchandise. By supplying themselves with only such articles as they could sell, they early learned to avoid an unsaleable stock; and having none but staple goods on hand, they were not under the necessity of crowding off goods, on credit, to unsound customers. As their capital accumulated, it was invested safely and surely, either in the goods which pertained to their business or in readily convertible values.

Such were the merchants of olden time, of which there are now, here and there, specimens. Such men are the conservative forces of the community. Their property, the certificate of industry, prudence and economy, gives them a position in society; and that position is not, as some falsely suppose, given merely to money. It is the just reward of prudence, patience and perseverance, which are exhibited in the results of a well-spent life.

In latter days, all this is changed. The young man sets out in life with a stock which would have frightened his father. He hires a store at three times the rent which his father ever paid, and engages a superabundance of clerks and salesmen. He neglects a personal supervision of his business, and commits his interest to those who are interested only in procuring their respective salaries, with the least amount of labor they can perform. His customers are waited upon if he happens to be in the mood, but if not, they are turned over to his employees.

In order not to press his customers, he omits to send out his bills as soon as they become due. Consequently bills become two or three times as large as they should be, before settlement. By and by, such a merchant becomes short of money. His customers, who have been trusted beyond their ability, cannot raise the means to pay. The modern merchant applies for a note and gets one at 6 or 8 months, by adding interest. He offers this at a Bank. The Directors see that the amount is too large for the condition of the promiser. Concluding that the merchant was unwise in extending so large and so long a credit to such a customer, the note is rejected and his own reputation as a shrewd merchant is jeopardized at the bank. He must then apply to a broker, and be shaved much more than the profit on the goods.

Do the inexperienced reply to us—Well, after one such transaction, the merchant will not again be caught in such a trap? Our observation shows just the contrary. Mortified at losing more than all his profits, by such a transaction, the merchant is very apt, under such circumstances, to become reckless. He knows that he can get the money of some broker, at some rate, on almost any kind of paper. Instead of bending his energies to recover his position and avoid the future effects of his unmercantile practice, he finds it easier for the present to commit himself to the tender mercies of note-shavers, and let the world slide. It does slide, and slide him along with itself into the vortex of bankruptcy. Under such circumstances, business is neglected, bills are not collected, credit is given to unworthy customers, the merchant attends his store less and less frequently, waste begins to prevail in every department, and finally comes a crash which extinguishes his mercantile career.

In this connection we have said nothing about household expenditures. But these demand a share of our notice. They are not generally the cause of the ruin of the merchants, but when the merchant becomes reckless from disappointment, his household expenditures are apt to keep pace with his other disbursements. In olden times the young trader thought three hundred dollars per annum for store, and one hundred and fifty dollars for house rent, enormous. He only increased these limits after he had become the owner of a large surplus capital. Now-a-days a store at a thousand and a house at six hundred dollars are the very lowest priced edifices which the trader thinks he can occupy as a store and dwelling. The difference between these rents—eleven hundred and fifty dollars per year—was the nucleus of the fortunes which were made in olden times.

Our merchants do not continue poor, and at length become insolvent, because they do not make money. For a time they make more money than their ancestors did; but they have not the prudence nor the perseverance which characterized the latter. They estimate their gains before they are made, and wish their losses out of sight as much as possible. They have an abhorrence of the debtor side of their profit and loss account, and instead of carrying the bad debts from year to year to that page of the ledger, they suffer those debts to make up an aggregate which they call net profits.

This is the reason why so many insolvent estates pay so poor a percentage compared with what the creditors anticipated upon the first exhibit of an insolvent inventory. It is bad enough to deceive the public and creditors in this manner, but it is mere fatuity to deceive one's self by such a shallow parade of figures. It is said that figures will not lie, and that is correct; but false premises may be apparently sustained by figures, which in themselves are correct, although the application of them is false.

We have but a word of advice to the young merchant or trader, and with this we will close. Undertake no business on your own account with which you have not a previous acquaintance. Keep your stock small. Trust nobody who is unsound or dilatory. Increase the quantity of your stock only as the demand for goods increases. Collect your bills promptly as they become due. Do not trade on temporarily borrowed capital. If you need more capital than you possess, borrow it of friends who will allow you a long time to repay it in; but it is better not to borrow at all. Above all, never rely upon a bank or broker to supply you with any portion of your *permanent* capital; for such loans will be called in when it is most inconvenient for you to pay them. Moreover, keep out of the hands of note-shavers, for there is sure destruction. Heed these suggestions and attend to your business and we will guarantee success.

## DEPARTMENT OF MANUFACTURES AND MINING.

### 1.—WOOL.

The quantity of wool grown in Great Britain is a mere matter of estimates, and these vary from 120,000,000 lbs. to 275,000,000 lbs. The former estimate is on 40,000,000 sheep at an average of 3 lbs. per fleece at the present produce. The import and export of foreign wool has been, during the present century, as follows:

#### IMPORT AND EXPORT OF WOOL INTO AND FROM GREAT BRITAIN.

Year.	Imported.	Exported.	Net Imports.
1800.....lbs.	6,005,792	None.	6,005,792
1828.....	28,345,947	1,669,389	27,676,558
1841.....	56,170,974	2,554,455	53,616,519
1842.....	45,883,983	3,637,789	42,196,194
1843.....	49,243,093	2,961,282	46,282,811
1844.....	65,663,686	1,972,674	63,691,015
1845.....	76,813,855	2,662,353	74,151,502
1846.....	65,117,668	3,011,980	62,105,688
1847.....	62,592,598	4,809,725	57,782,873
1848.....	70,521,957	6,575,584	63,946,373
1849.....	76,756,183	12,450,497	64,305,686
1850.....	74,326,778	14,888,674	59,438,104
1851.....	83,076,881	13,729,988	69,346,893
1852.....	93,679,647	11,316,933	82,362,714
1853.....	119,333,439	11,735,367	107,598,072
1854.....	106,121,995	24,467,284	81,654,711
1855.....	99,300,446	29,412,062	69,888,384
1856.....	116,211,392	26,679,793	89,531,599
1857.....	129,749,898	36,487,219	93,262,679

# STATISTICS OF GROWTH AND IMPORTATION OF WOOL. 359

The export of British wool has increased largely in the last ten years, although it did not much during the first twenty years after export was allowed. Nearly one-half of the long combing wools of England are sent to France, and have there served greatly to promote the quality of the cloths. There is also a large quantity of the Australian wools re-exported to France.

If we take this column of net import and compare it with the estimate of British wool the results are as follows:

## GROWTH, IMPORT, AND CONSUMPTION OF WOOL IN GREAT BRITAIN.

	Growth, lbs.	British Wool exported.	British Wool used.	Net import, lbs.	Consumption, lbs.
1800..	78,064,560	None.	78,064,560	6,005,792	84,070,352
1828..	92,280,550	1,669,389	90,611,411	29,375,947	119,957,358
1843..	120,000,000	3,978,842	116,021,150	63,946,373	179,967,531
1849..	120,000,000	11,013,641	108,916,355	64,305,686	173,222,041
1850..	120,000,000	12,002,773	107,997,227	59,938,104	167,935,331
1851..	120,000,000	8,517,500	111,482,500	69,346,893	180,829,393
1852..	120,000,000	13,919,077	106,080,933	82,753,614	188,834,547
1853..	120,000,000	6,671,410	113,328,590	107,698,072	220,926,662
1854..	120,000,000	12,901,294	107,098,706	81,654,711	188,753,417
1855..	120,000,000	16,172,409	103,727,591	69,888,384	173,615,975
1856..	120,000,000	14,378,774	105,621,228	89,531,599	196,152,825
1857..	120,000,000	15,142,681	104,857,119	98,262,679	198,117,798

Hence it appears if the British product was the same last year as in 1853, there have been used twenty-four million pounds less foreign wool, and nine million pounds less British wool, or, together, fifteen per cent. less. In France and on the Continent, there is already great activity, which must necessarily be enhanced by the removal of the French duty on wool. Wool imported into the United States under twenty cents, at the place of shipment, was made free in 1857, after July 1. The imports of the three nations are as follows:

	Great Britain. Duty free.	France. Duty 24 per ct.	United States. Duty 30 per ct.
1853.....	119,376,449	64,147,950	21,595,079
1854.....	106,121,995	47,357,775	20,200,110
1855.....	99,300,446	84,507,100	18,534,415
1856.....	116,211,392	85,715,520	14,737,393
1857.....	129,749,898	83,304,760	16,502,060

The imports for 1858, since the removal of the duty, have been large into Boston, and if the South American wools can be successfully cleansed, the supply may be large.

The sources whence the United States have derived their wool have been as follows:

## IMPORT OF WOOL INTO THE UNITED STATES, WITH THE AGGREGATE VALUE.

	1847.	1851.	1853.	1855.	1856.	1857.
England.....	652,477	4,893,041	3,384,505	1,046,902	842,140	515,785
British Am. Colonies	157,957	621,020	434,577	74,431	.....	80
Gibraltar.....	8,781	291,309	678,301	491,154	276,730	85,147
Malta.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	50,035	302,935
France.....	38,917	3,818,367	2,211,379	940,328	807,504	933,721
Belgium.....	19,817	71,581	38,835	1,610	44,784	.....
Italy.....	.....	906,665	312,885	407,532	351,690	190,335
Trieste.....	.....	423,556	1,502	176,733	38,285	2,760
Turkey.....	3,815,713	5,338,292	4,301,359	4,676,747	3,424,760	3,447,656
Mexico.....	851,909	.....	49,689	56,432	141,198	32,470
Brazil.....	187,485	400,543	64,554	50,164	188,724	127,413
Rio Janeiro.....	1,098,785	12,106,636	5,745,857	5,966,969	5,810,493	5,859,526
Chili.....	1,832,672	2,109,846	2,664,300	2,346,902	2,523,822	2,644,394
Peru.....	450	.....	66,777	848,754	124,359	.....
Other places.....	514,082	1,687,634	1,071,146	1,419,465	77,793	1,400,799
Total.....	8,460,005	82,548,495	21,595,079	18,534,415	14,737,393	16,502,060
Aggregate.....	556,022	3,838,137	2,669,717	2,072,139	1,665,864	2,125,744
Average.....	7c.	11c.	12.36c.	11.5c.	12c.	13c.

The quantities and values imported annually were as follows:

	Pounds.	Value.	Price.
1847.....	8,460,005	\$556,622	7c.
1848.....	11,381,429	857,084	7½
1849.....	17,869,022	1,117,347	6½
1850.....	18,669,794	1,681,691	9
1851.....	32,548,495	3,893,157	11½
1852.....	18,341,298	1,930,711	10½
1853.....	21,595,079	2,669,727	12½
1855.....	18,354,415	2,072,139	11½
1856.....	14,737,393	1,665,064	12
1857.....	16,502,060	2,125,744	13

With the removal of duty from wool came the panic, which has checked the demand for wool and lowered the prices. The high prices abroad during the past few years have drawn most of the disposable wools from the American markets, but for the coming year the demand will be more equalized.

The above aggregate result presents a continued rise in the price of imported wools up to 1855. This fact indicates, with the high prices sustained here for the domestic wool, notwithstanding the considerable quantities that were kept out of the market on speculation, how vigorous had been the demand from the manufacturers for consumption. The duties on cloths had been complained of as too low to ensure prosperity to the manufacturer, who, nevertheless, had been so active in the wool market as to raise prices steadily. The fears entertained in 1853 that the Australian supplies would be cut off by the gold excitement, were not realized; on the contrary, more wool than ever was received into England from that quarter. It is to be remarked that while the price of wool has doubled, the duty has doubled also:

	Cents.	Duty.	Total.
A. pound of wool in 1849 cost.....	6.75	2.02	8.77
Do. do. 1853 do. ....	12.30	3.70	16.00
Do. do. 1855 do. ....	11.20	3.60	14.80
Do. do. 1856 do. ....	12.00	3.60	15.60
Do. do. 1857 do. ....	13.00	3.90	16.90

Making a rise of over eight cents per pound. This evidently operated powerfully against our manufacturers, who have had to contend against foreign goods, of which the material was free. The quantities of wool which Europe can spare above the wants of its own manufacture, are yearly diminishing; consequently the cost of it is rising on their hands; hence any movement which should create a greater demand for that wool would diminish the ability of the foreign manufacturers to compete with those of the United States.

Prices in New York have been as follows:

*	American. ↓.	Amer. Saxony.	—S. America.—		Smyr- na.
			Washed.	Unwashed.	
1843—October.....	26c.	36	9	6½	11
1844—February.....	37	44	11½	7½	13
1845—June.....	33	39	11	6	11
April.....	31½	39	11½	7	11½
1847—June.....	30	42½	10	6	11½
1848—June.....	32	42	12	7	12
1849—June.....	33	39	11	6	11
1850—June.....	36	44	15½	8	13½
1851—June.....	40	47	18	9½	16
1852—June.....	31	41½	13½	8½	14
October.....	44	55	14	9	13
1853—June.....	47½	57½	15	10	15½
November.....	52	60	14	15	15
1854—March.....	46	55	16½	11	16
July.....	38½	51	13½	10½	14
December.....	32	41	13½	8½	13½



	American. Saxony.	Amer. Saxony.	S. America.		Smyr- na.
			Washed.	Unwashed.	
1855—March.....	31	42½	12½	8½	13½
July.....	33	42½	12½	8½	13½
December.....	36	45	12½	8½	15
1856—March.....	35	45	12½	8½	15½
December.....	43	50	13	8½	15½
1857—March.....	50½	56	16	11½	17
December.....	35	46	14	..	17
1858—May.....	30	42	11½	12	13½

(U. S. Economist.)

## 2.—CLEANSING COTTON SEED.

An intelligent correspondent, residing at Antwerp, writes under date of May 19th, 1858, that a machine for cleansing cotton seed has lately been invented, and is now in operation in that city. From two to three tons of seed can be cleansed per day by a machine of four-horse power, with the assistance of three persons. The cotton surrounding the seed is taken clean off, and can be sold to carpet-manufacturers and paper-makers at from thirty to fifty francs the one hundred kilogrammes. After the oil is pressed out, the cakes remaining can be sold for the same price as other cakes of oleaginous seeds. The cost of the machinery is said not to be expensive. This is an important invention and promises to be of incalculable advantage to cotton-growers.

## 3.—SALT RESOURCES OF VIRGINIA.

The Richmond Enquirer has been for sometime publishing a series of papers upon the "Resources, Improvements, and Commerce of Virginia." Though we are unacquainted with the writer or his antecedents, we have consulted his papers with some interest, as without doubt, the emanations of a very practical mind. Upon the subject of salt, he says:

"Common salt for domestic or culinary purposes, is not only an important item in our natural resources, but also one of the great necessities of life, and one for which there is no substitute—we must either buy it or make it.

"The consumption of salt throughout the world is prodigious. It is computed that a half bushel per annum to each inhabitant is used wherever it can be conveniently obtained, and proportionately less in all countries where it is less accessible; but Nature has so universally distributed her provisions for the human family that there is scarcely a country on the globe where this article cannot, or could not be obtained through the intelligence of its people; and, we may remark, in the connection, that this rule is alike universally; for all people and all countries, profit, prosper and enjoy the provisions of Nature, according to their standard of intelligence or industry. It is true that some portions of the world are peculiarly favored in the distribution of natural resources and gifts, but it does not follow that the people are naturally rich, or proportionately prosperous; that depends on their exertions, their industry and their knowledge.

"The saliferous formations, or salt deposits of Virginia, are on the same grand characteristic scale, which distinguishes her coal, her iron, and her copper formations. In the West, on the great Kanawha, that noble 'river of the woods,' the 'salt wells,' are, perhaps, the most extensive in the world, and the probability is, that Kanawha alone could supply the world with salt for ages, since it is known to exist for over twenty miles through the valley of that river; and this would be no small number of bushels, even if we only allow twenty pounds to each of the one thousand millions who use it more or less.

"In this region peculiar facilities exist for manufacturing the article, since it lies in the midst of the great coal region of the State; and so convenient is this fuel deposited and obtained, that it can be mined, in many cases, immediately

in the vicinity of the salt works, and, frequently, it can be delivered by the means of schutes, inclined planes, &c., directly from the mines to the furnaces, without the aid of machinery. The gasses which arise from coal, carboniferous, or bituminous formations, as in China and many other places, here escape from numerous salt wells in abundance, and effect a great economy in the salt making operation, though it is evidently not used as judiciously and effectively as a scientific application would warrant us to expect.

"The depth at which the salt water is reached is various, and generally extends from a few feet to about one thousand, though it is found much deeper and probably exists many thousands of feet below the surface. With the great extent of the Kanawha salt formations, and the facilities for manufacturing it, there can be no limits placed to the production of the article but the demand, as soon as this magnificent region can be fully opened out and developed by means of railroad communication with the East and West, but particularly by the river itself, when improved as designed. The quantity of salt which the West will demand from the Kanawha salt wells, will be prodigious in the course of a few years, when the supply will be regular, with the means of constant transportation and the permanence of a market not liable to the sudden fluctuations which now seriously effect the Kanawha salt manufacturers.

"The quantity of salt required to supply the wants of the United States is not less than fifteen million bushels per annum, or about half a bushel to each inhabitant. It has been stated that we require a bushel to each inhabitant, but that is evidently too much, though it is probable that we use a larger proportion than the average consumption per head in most other countries. In England the consumption of salt per head, is calculated at twenty-five pounds, and in France at twenty pounds. But even supposing that we consume annually a half bushel each, or fifteen million bushels per annum, the business of supplying that demand becomes one of great importance, and, if imported, it must necessarily cause a great drain of the precious metals, or their equivalent. But great as the business may be, there are three States in the Union which can supply the whole of that demand with ease, at moderate prices. Virginia herself could profitably supply herself and furnish the South and West with five million bushels per annum; the great bulk of which would be produced in the Kanawha region; but there are salt deposits on the east of the mountains and in the southwest, which, though less in extent, are probably equally as valuable, on account of the strength and purity of the salt water and the location of the wells. The most eastern deposit of salt that has been found appears to be located in Pittsylvania county, but the most important is that magnificent deposit of almost pure brine in Smyth county, in southwestern Virginia, where the celebrated Preston salt has been manufactured for the last century. The Preston salines at Saltville produce about three hundred thousand bushels of salt yearly; the character of which, when carefully manufactured, is not excelled by any salt now made in any part of the world; and we have no doubt that an article equal to the refined salt of the Dutch, from which the celebrated "Dutch herrings" receive their peculiar flavor, might be prepared from those wells, with a small amount of additional care and labor. The brine is the strongest known, one-fourth of the bulk being pure salt, twenty bushels of brine produce five bushels of salt. Those salines are as capable of producing one million bushels per annum as the amount now furnished, and, we should judge, with a corresponding degree of profit; and yet the drain on the natural supply would be too limited to be seriously felt for ages to come.—A branch road from the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad is extended from the Glade Spring depot to Saltville, which was built expressly for the produce of the Preston salines and plaster banks, and which are here worked in close proximity to each other.

"Coal has been found within sight of the furnaces, and it is supposed to exist in quantity and quality sufficient for every purpose. With such desirable facilities and natural richness, we cannot imagine another locality where Nature has been more liberal; for, in addition to the immense quantities of the purest gypsum and salt, both iron ores and coal are abundant; and black lead, pure silica, limestone, marble, mill stone, or burr, and other minerals, are plentiful,

which, with the soils, that are wonderfully rich, even to the peaks of the limestone knobs, render Saltville and the region around one of the richest districts in that peculiarly rich portion of a naturally rich and prolific State. A large part of the Southwest is mountainous and rugged, but the valleys and uplands are wonderfully productive; and even the mountains, which yield nothing to the hand of the farmer, contain countless treasures which can only be revealed and obtained by the pick of the miner.

"We may not be censured for remarking that we import and use more foreign salt in Virginia, than we use of our own manufacturing, notwithstanding the immense quantities we have naturally stored away on every hand. England, whose natural deposits of salt are but little greater than our own—that is, in Virginia alone, without those of New York, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Illinois and other Western States—produces thirty millions of bushels per annum, of which nearly twenty millions are exported, and much of this vast excess, in the manufacture of a single article, is sent to the Southern States. Virginia contains salt in abundance, in the East, South, and West, and yet she buys the article from England and the North, paying nearly a million of dollars per year, for that which might be obtained at home with advantage to the State as well as the manufacturers. We need not say that such a state of things results from the anti-improvement spirit that has been manifested in Virginia so exclusively, which, in turn, is the natural consequence of the single pursuit of tilling the soil, excluding all others, and, of course, all the great branches of industry, which develop the natural resources of nations and build up cities and commercial centres.

## DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

### 1.—EUROPEAN RAILROAD ECONOMY.

At the March meeting of the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, Mr. Colburn presented some statements of the cost, working, and construction of English Railways. The average receipts and expenses of all English and French lines, per mile run, were, for 1856:

Receipts,	\$1 44,	Great Britain;	\$2 03,	France.
Expenses,	73½	"	87½	"

For the railroads of New York, for 1855, the receipts were \$1 76, and the expenses of operating \$1 per mile run.

The cost of maintenance and renewal of way, and of "engines and working," was for the railroads of New York 70½ cents per mile run, against but 36½ cents in England, and 42½ cents in France. Maintenance of way averaged upon all the British lines, for 1855 and 1856, 10.56 cents per mile run. In France (1855,) 7.8 cents; in New York, 23.2 cents.

For the railroads of Massachusetts, this item of expenses has been as follows:

1855.....	25.40 cents per mile run.
1856.....	28.53 " " "
1857.....	26.77 " " "

Eighty miles are run for each ton of coke or coal consumed on all French railways. In Great Britain, the mileage per ton of coke or coal is 77 miles. In the Northern United States, equaling wood to coal, the average is 44 miles run to a ton. The average cost of fuel, per mile run, is about 6 cents in England, 11 cents in France, and 18 cents in New York and Massachusetts.

The average weight of passenger trains, including engine and tender, was given as 95 tons in England, and 130 tons in New York. On the other hand, the speeds in England average 25 per cent. higher than in this country, being 28 miles an hour for passenger and 15 miles for freight trains, including stops.

The grades of English lines, though on the whole more favorable than in the Eastern United States, were sometimes severe. There were frequent instances

of grades, of 80, 100, 117, 120, 143, and some even of 196 feet per mile, on English lines, in every case worked by locomotive power.

The alignment of English and French lines was more favorable than that of American lines.

The climate of England, though not presenting such trying circumstances of frost and snow, and severe summer heat, had nevertheless some severe peculiarities, as compared with that of the United States. There is an average annual fall of over sixty inches of rain in England, much of which falls on a treacherous clay soil, rendering liable frequent slips, besides soaking and settling of roadbeds.

The prices of labor and iron were on an average two-thirds of those in the United States. Cross ties, on the other hand, cost from four to five times as much, and ballast nearly double. Coke averaged \$4 50 a ton in England, and \$9 a ton in France.

Allowing for all these circumstances, Mr. Colburn believed there was an absolute economy of from 30 to 40 per cent. over the corresponding results on American railways. He attributed this chiefly to superior construction, embracing the earthwork, drainage, ballast, distribution, and preservation of sleepers, the make and form of rail, rail-joints, &c.

Much of the notoriously great cost of English lines had gone for items, wholly independent of the quality of the permanent way, and to such extent the cost of English lines was not chargeable to their superior construction.

Of such items were the following:

1. Parliamentary expenses, \$7,500 per mile.
2. Land and damages, \$43,000 per mile.
3. 70 miles of tunnels, costing \$5,000 for every mile of railway in the kingdom.
4. 68,800 cubic yards of earthwork per mile on all British railways, costing \$20,000 per mile.
5. 30,000 railway bridges, varying in cost, from the Britannia bridge of \$3,000,000, down.
6. Three-fourths of all the lines are double track.
7. Stations  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles apart on all the lines in the kingdom, many of them very large and expensive.
8. Station approaches, including viaducts, of which were over fifty miles.
9. Equipment. That of the London and Northwestern line cost \$22,000 a mile; and on other roads the cost was proportionately heavy.

A mile of first class English permanent way, at English prices, cost but little more than a mile of ordinary American railway at American prices, including only earthwork, ballast, sleepers, rails and fastenings and laying.

In answer to a question from a member of the Institute, Mr. Colburn stated that the average dividend on all English railway share capital was for 1856,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

The earth-work of English lines was more carefully laid up than is usual here; the cuttings and banks were wider at formation level, the slopes flatter, and grassed or sown, the drainage very thorough—sub-drainage being much practiced in difficult situations. The ballasting was deep and thorough, being 26 feet wide on double track, and 2 feet deep, one foot of which was under the ties. The ties were 9 feet long, 10 by 5 inches section, generally squared, spaced, in most cases, 3 feet apart centres, and were generally preserved, either by saturation with coal tar, creosote, or sulphate of copper. The rails were mostly of the double head form, 5 inches deep, and weighing 72 pounds per yard. There was a general conviction in favor of lighter rails; 70 to 75 pound rails were taking the place of 85 and 92 pound iron. So, on the continent, 62 to 74 pound rails were taking the place of heavier bars. The height of the rails, 5 inches, was preserved, but the stem and head were lightened. A lighter head was found to give an advantageous elasticity, whereby the iron was saved from battering out. Much more pains was being taken in the manufacture of rails. The continental rails were flat footed, and fastened by spikes, as on American roads.

The best form of English rail joint fastening was believed to be a pair of angle

irons, each 18 inches long, bolted by four bolts, through the rail of the joints, and spiked also to the sleeper. If the bolts got loose, the pressure of the rail on the heads of the angle irons, tended to nip them closer together; so, the angle irons gave the full great lateral support. About eight tons of angle irons and bolts were required per mile of single track, for an ordinary weight of rail.

## 2.—ENGLISH RAILROADS.

LAST year there were twenty-three collisions, twenty accidents of other kinds connected with the management of the lines, and two trains set on fire. Besides these examples, even in the twenty-one instances where engines or carriages ran off the rails, seven only are reported as due purely to unavoidable casualties, leaving twice that number to be more or less accounted for by some species of neglect. In 1853 there were seventy-six accidents to trains reported upon, of which five only were purely accidental, and eleven partly so. In 1854 the aggregate was eighty-five, of which sixteen were wholly, and five partially attributable to "accidents"—the term being here used as defining a casualty against which there had been no obvious means of guarding. In 1855 the pure accidents were only ten and the partial accidents—or those in which uncontrollable causes could be charged with some, though not all the blame—only thirteen out of a total of ninety-four. In the succeeding years the case becomes still stronger. In 1856, out of seventy-one casualties but three pure accidents could be selected, and in 1857 only sixteen out of eighty-one.

It is not yet thirty-eight years since George Stephenson drove the first engine over the first English railway opened as a public highway; yet the number of passengers now conveyed by railway in Great Britain and Ireland is about 134,000,000 per annum. The rate of increase in the passenger traffic of the collective lines is marvellous. In 1851 there were 81,000,000; in 1852, 89,000,000; in 1853, 102,000,000; in 1854, 114,000,000; in 1855, 118,000,000; and in 1856, 129,000,000 of passengers carried by railway. The returns for the last half year of 1857 are not given, but those of the first half year show an excess of nearly five millions over those of the corresponding period of 1856; and even if we assume that the passenger traffic was no greater than that of the Autumn preceding, still we shall get a gross number of 134,000,000 passengers in that year. To conduct this enormous traffic over 9,000 miles of railway and through 3,121 stations, the different companies of the United Kingdom employ no fewer than 109,660 persons in various capacities. To speak first of those classes of officers who are immediately concerned in contributing to the safety of traveling, there are 2,471 station masters, 3,563 engine drivers, with as many assistants as firemen; 3,716 guards, 3,260 switchmen to attend to the points, 2,000 gatesmen, 2,400 policemen or watermen. Of porters, plate layers, and laborers, classes which generally supply victims rather than agents in railway accidents, there are 53,000 employed.

## 3.—THE DISMAL SWAMP CANAL.

Was the first of the artificial lines leading from Norfolk into the Interior. It was sufficiently advanced for the passage of large boats in 1828, but was not completed until 1841, under the presidency of the late Marshall Parks. It cost half a million of dollars, of which were subscribed by

United States Government.....	\$200,000
State of Virginia.....	200,000
Individuals.....	100,000

\$500,000

The canal is fed from Lake Drummond, or the "Lake of the Dismal Swamp," which affords an abundant and unfailing supply of water. It has five locks seventeen and a half feet wide and ninety-four feet long, capable of passing vessels of one hundred tons. It connects the waters of the Elizabeth river at a point six miles from Norfolk, with those of the Pasquotank river in North Carolina. The latter is a narrow, tortuous stream, the difficult navigation of which



has materially interfered with the trade of the canal. This difficulty is being obviated, however, by the extension of the canal several miles further South, and the completion of this improvement will doubtless do much to increase the trade.

Below we present a table of the trade of the canal in twenty-five of the principal articles, from 1841 to 1857, inclusive. The table is full, perfectly reliable, and, therefore, of great value. It presents some interesting facts of the comparative state of trade on the canal, which could only be exhibited by going back to an extended period.

Thus in a comparison between the cotton trade of the first five and last five years, given in the table, a gain is shown in the latter over the former period of eight thousand nine hundred and twenty-three bales. In fish there has been a falling off. In naval stores there is a gain of thirty-four thousand three hundred and fifty bushels. In bacon of three hundred and thirteen thousand four hundred pounds; and in lard of nine hundred and forty kegs. In grain there has been a very decided increase. Corn having increased from two million seventy-six thousand and ninety-four bushels in the first named five years to five million nine hundred and seventy-three thousand three hundred and twenty-four bushels in the last, or a gain of three million eight hundred and seventy-one thousand two hundred and fifty-seven bushels, equal to one hundred and eighty-six per cent. In the wheat there has been an increase of eighty-five per cent.—a slight gain in peas, and a gain of forty-five per cent. in potatoes.

In lumber there is also a gain. In mast timber we have no comparative data, but in merchantable timber there is an increase of five hundred and sixty-five thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight cubic feet, or ninety-one per cent.; and in plank and scantling of fifteen thousand three hundred and sixty-one feet, or over one hundred and twenty-five per cent. In pipe staves we observe a considerable falling off, also, a small falling off in barrel staves—while there is a gain in hoghead staves of about two millions. The receipts of pipe and barrel stave in 1857, show an increase of the former of one hundred and twenty-eight thousand seven hundred and sixty-two, and of the latter of fifty-four thousand over the previous year. In long shingles there has been a decrease of five millions, while there has been a gain in building shingles of sixty-three millions, the per cent. of gain on the last two items being respectively about seventy-five and fifty per cent.

## TRADE OF THE DISMAL SWAMP CANAL.

	1841.	1857.		1841.	1857.
Bales Cotton.....	3,129	4,690	Feet Plank Scantlings.....	2,297,936	2,739,136
Barrels Fish.....	80,213	14,761	Pipe Staves.....	851,520	141,362
“ Naval Stores.....	23,092	19,969	Hoghead Staves.....	3,514,610	4,096,340
“ Turpentine.....	555	1,039	Barrel Staves.....	495,310	115,860
Cwt. Bacon.....	2,805	1,050	Long Shingles.....	4,575,190	1,660,440
Kegs Lard.....	612	533	Two Feet Shingles.....	3,145,510	4,097,340
Bushels Corn.....	291,164	745,058	Bunch Shingles.....	28,413,790	40,915,150
“ Flax Seed.....	2,737	1,594	Garden Pales.....	73,063	88,430
“ Wheat.....	81,635	176,564	Coopers bolts.....	2,269	.....
“ Peas.....	6,909	12,978	Coopers Staves.....	387,930	312,810
“ Potatoes.....	18,514	21,640	Fence Rails.....	10,773	14,620
Mast Timber.....	2,213	.....	Fire Wood.....	4,426	5,459
Feet Timber.....	131,463	444,663			

## DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.

## 1.—THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF CHARLESTON.

In no section of the Union does there exist at this time a more correct appreciation of the benefits of an efficient Common School system than in the city of Charleston, and nowhere are its results more gratifying. The improvement has been chiefly within the last few years, and the greatest emulation

## REPORT OF HON. C. G. MEMMINGER.

pervades among citizens of all classes in elevating and perfecting what has been so well begun.

We have been recently furnished with the reports and other documents read at the second anniversary celebration, and cannot resist the desire to extract from them for the benefit of our readers in other quarters. Our early recollections of Charleston and its public schools, and of our own great indebtedness to them, are very vivid, and the acknowledgment for this indebtedness is made gratefully here.

The leading report, by the Hon. C. G. Memminger, who is himself one of the proudest monuments of the system, in another of its forms, is a most excellent paper. The schools are six in number, and the children under instruction, 1,698. The whole expense for the year was \$21,145, which was an average of \$13 19 to each pupil, including books, maps, &c., furnished to them free of cost.

The sum of \$10,000 was appropriated by the State, and an equal amount made up among the citizens for the establishment of a Normal School, for training female teachers, in connection with a High School for girls. In regard to the importance of female education, and of education generally, Mr. Memminger remarks:

"To forward this most important and desirable result as speedily as is consistent with the means of our citizens, it is only necessary to bear in mind the advantages of general education, and its absolute necessity where the people govern. A government without intelligence would be a body without a head. In other countries where one man, or a privileged class exercise all the power of the State, it is sufficient to educate the few. In fact, the few would prefer to keep the subject people in ignorance. But where every individual is a ruler—where his opinion is felt in making up the public opinion—where each man is an actual and positive part of the great moving whole, it is necessary that all should be educated. If we will look back through a single year, and mark the important questions of municipal and international right which are brought before our people for their action, we will appreciate the value of an enlightened public opinion. And if we turn our steps to the Court House and see the Jurymen taken from the workshop or the counter, and sitting in judgment upon the life and fortune of his neighbor; if we listen to the arguments which are addressed to him, and find that they involve nice questions of law, moral probabilities and social duty; if we hear the judge, with all his learning, appealing to the understanding of the jury and declaring to them that they are the arbiters of the question at issue, we will then perceive the necessity which calls for precious knowledge and education.

"Whether then we entrust to a man power as a jurymen to sit in judgment upon our lives and property, or as a voter, to confer political power upon whom he may please; or as a citizen, to become invested with the robe of office; or as a soldier, to sustain the honor and defend the interests of his country, we compel ourselves to provide for his education.

"If we turn to the female portion of society, considerations of equal importance plead for their education. The great moral lever of society has been entrusted by the Creator to female hands. The principles of religion and virtue are implanted by the mother upon the plastic mind of infancy. Her hand must foster her care must guard the tender plant. In the hour of trial she must sustain, in the day of affliction she must comfort. The first rays of intelligence must be collected by her, and the child, the youth and the man must find his surest and most sympathizing friend in the sister, the wife, the mother. Shall these be educated, or shall they be left in ignorance? Shall the mother be incapable of reading to her child that Word which God has given for her guidance and support? Shall the wife be incapable of reading or responding to her husband's letter—or to rise higher—of taking her fitting place as his companion and helpmeet? It is evident that the best interest of society de-

mand for the one sex an education corresponding in all respects to the education of the other.

"Another view of this subject is presented by the want which exists of higher education among the working part of our population. We all desire to make Charleston a centre of industry and commercial enterprise. This can only be effected by superior intelligence and education among those who are practically to conduct the business of life. A well educated mechanic, or store-keeper, or merchant has in himself advantages which give him superiority in his vocation, and which enable him to improve every opportunity to advance his business. His success is the gain of the whole community, and the united success of many such men is, in fact, the advancement of that community to the position of a great mart of trade and industry.

"Public education searches out and finds these men. They are generally to be found among those who have no means of educating themselves. A single Franklin counts for millions in the history of a nation; and it is the well known declaration of one of our distinguished statesman, that the whole expense of the South Carolina College was compensated by the single act of educating McDuffie. It is in this enlarged view that the Board would desire this subject to be considered, and, following that direction, they would submit that the amounts paid by our citizens for education should not be regarded in the light of a tax. It is, in fact, with all who send children to the school a mere substitute for the tuition money paid to a teacher; and when these schools shall be extended over the whole city, the tax will bear that relation to every parent. To those who seek for their children a higher education than we are at present able to offer, we would suggest that they are already furnished with a full equivalent in the colleges which are sustained at the public expense by the city and by the State. And to those who have no children, we would submit for reflection the deep stake which they have in the proper training of those children who are soon to stand forth as men, and to take into their keeping the destinies of the State."

The Hon. Wm. J. Grayson, one of the Board of Visitors, concludes his report:

"From all that has passed under their observation, the Board of Visitors have no hesitation in expressing their thorough conviction that the advantages of the Common School system cannot be too highly appreciated. They think it a duty to the people, to express this conviction in the strongest terms. Their most sanguine expectations have been surpassed. They looked on with delighted attention, while the various exercises of the school were passing in review before them. What hitherto may have been experiment, seems to the Board to be now established fact. They look upon the system as a great success. Nothing remains, as they believe, for the community to do but to give amply every help that may be needed for the extension and completion of the work. This would, without doubt, be the most acceptable reward to all those who have been instrumental in bringing this system of instruction into the city and the State. Their diligence and care for the best welfare of the people—the education of their children in the most efficient manner—cannot be too warmly acknowledged or readily promoted. Their services are beyond all other reward."

Col. F. W. Capers, of the State Military Institute, adds his own testimony:

"Your Committee were gratified to witness such an exhibition of public interest as was evinced by the throng of citizens that crowded the approaches to the Examination Hall, and whatever available space within it had not been reserved for their convenience. They retired from the hall most fully impressed with the value and importance of this new feature in the educational provisions of the State, and report to you their conviction that such returns as they have witnessed—such an exhibition of that upward levelling of society, which elevates the whole body of our citizenship—would amply compensate any care or cost that might secure it.

"They contemplate these schools as involving in a large measure the best interests of the community, and rejoice in the new impulse, which, through them, has been given to public education in the State. It may not be possible to educate every citizen, but they believe it will be possible to carry the means

of education almost to every door, and they deprecate opposition for any secondary consideration. It must diminish the intellectual resources of the State, and hinder the progress of popular enlightenment, and cannot effect any valuable purpose. The day is not far distant, when the debt we owe our fathers, and which can be paid only to posterity, shall be put in liquidation by preparing and fitting out the rising generation to meet the developments and demands of the age. Could the word be spoken which should inspire the heart of every parent in South Carolina with a full sense of his obligations, how gloriously would our future glow upon the page of history. Not only should the five per centum of illiterateness charged against us disappear from the census records, but nowhere in all the land should a free born Carolinian stand bewildered before the trophies of science and art, or literature proper to his age."

Rev. John T. Wightman speaks as follows of the practical workings of the primary department:

"The perfect command and thorough training of an army of four hundred children, their cleanly attire and smiling faces, their quickness in reply, their vivacity, confidence, good behavior and order, call forth the highest commendation for their faithful teachers. After reviewing the whole department, both the deportment and proficiency of the children, the most pleasing impression was left on the minds of the Committee, and they left better persuaded than ever of the efficiency of the plan in training up the masses of society to a position of intelligence and virtue."

Mr. J. P. Tustin enters very fully into the consideration of many interesting topics in relation to the education system of our own country and of Europe. He says:

"There are two views which need thorough sifting, in order that our people may be prepared to go forward in the movement. One of these relates to the alleged impracticability of having such a system of schools among us, as is so much lauded in Germany, Scotland, and in the Northern States. It is said that the distribution of wealth, and of population will not admit of a graded and progressive series of schools.

"We do not here touch the question of taxation, nor the equity of levying upon the capital of a State for providing a sound education, which is only an equivalent expression for the safety of society. These material and financial questions may be left to the temper of our people. The spirit of justice, and the arguments of facts, will not fail to vindicate the system of public education. The only question is, whether it is as attainable and practicable, as it is confessedly desirable.

"We assume, then, that to a very considerable extent, there should be a self-originating and self-sustaining method of general education carried out in this State. We are too apt to look to the precedents and analogies of other States, and of other lands, before we can make up our minds to devise and sustain a general system of education suited to this commonwealth, or even to this city. We make a difficulty to begin with, by not considering what should naturally be the outgrowth of our own state of society. It is very easy to look at New York and Massachusetts, at Scotland, Saxony, and Prussia, and to conclude that because a given system works well there, we need only to ordain it so, and it will spring up and work well here; or, that if such a special system does not thus work well here, no other system worth having is suited to us.

"It was by such a process of thinking that the great State of Pennsylvania was for a long time kept on the background, with regard to public education. The leaders of the cause, in that State, had New York and New England, as well as certain foreign countries, before their eyes; and they prematurely attempted a system which was too successfully opposed by many parts of that State at the very beginning. The obstacles were at length overcome by adopting the outlines of a general system, provided for by State laws, but which was left to county administration in such a way, that each county could adopt or reject a system of taxation for its own schools. While the plan was supervised by State authority, it became effective only by being adopted by degrees, and



by imposing no burdens on those counties which declined its provisions. In this way, the benefits resulting in those districts which adopted the system, soon carried the impression and practical demonstration of their overshadowing influence upon regions which had been behind.

"The conformation of our treaty, and the peculiar distribution of our population, are obviously not favorable to a system of popular education overlying equally all parts of the State. Roughly speaking, we may assume one-third part of the rural population of this Commonwealth as being a situation for the immediate introduction of a series of primary and of regularly graded and classified schools. In this one-third part of our territory, it is estimated that the number of children from six to sixteen years would be found, on an average, to be not less than forty to every four square miles. This would give a system of school districts, of which the centre in each would not be more than a mile from the extremity. The distribution of population affording this specified number to the given space, would make a system of popular education at once practicable and economical. It is only necessary that the Commonwealth should sanction a system based on a thorough analysis of facts, and to provide for its execution in a spirit of candor and patience, to make South Carolina a noble patron and model in the training of her own children.

"But there is another view which requires to be thoroughly canvassed, as peculiar to our condition as a city. Charleston is a metropolis, in many of its features; and yet in many respects, it is remarkably insulated. Like the free cities of Germany, or like Venice in the days of her power and glory, Charleston must have a sphere of operations in many important interests, exclusively her own. Cities are always the centres and sources of commercial, political, and moral influence to the regions of country wide and far around. It was in the chief cities of ancient nations, that the apostles of Christianity preached the Gospel, and wrote their epistle; and these were among the providential agencies by which the Gospel radiated to every district and province, and in a single generation, found its way through Asia Minor, and on both sides of the Mediterranean to the Straits of Gibraltar. It was in view of such facts that Napoleon said to the gifted daughter of France already mentioned: 'Give me Paris, and I will give you the rest of France.'

"It is readily allowed that many precincts of the purely rural population of our State could at once sustain their district schools, as well as those in any State of the Union. A system of education, could, therefore, be properly legalized, and so devised that the districts which are locally and physically adapted to its working may at once proceed to the adoption of a plan of primary and of general education through all the stages of its proper classification. But each should be allowed to accept the provisions of any system for itself; and this view applies pre-eminently to this city.

"It would be for the glory and safety of Charleston to compass and execute a system of education which shall include all classes, having as its head a NORMAL SCHOOL which could be sustained for the training of teachers for this city and vicinity, without looking any further. We would ignore and repudiate, at the outstart, the invidious terms of 'poor' and 'free schools.' *Charity*, scholars are not the material which a State should look to for forming her citizens. Our people are *citizens*, not *subjects*—and the training of citizens by the State is not a debt of charity, but of justice. The true idea of *public education* which has been so greatly actualized and matured in some States of this country, and in other lands, is the *best education for the greatest number, and at the least expense*. A well devised and well executed system of popular education would at once carry its provisions to the sources of community—that is, to the families of the poor—always the great majority in every population. It would call the children of poverty within its walls, and thus to a great extent foreclose these demands which public charity, or the stern appliances of public justice, may, in a few years later, be otherwise compelled to meet. It would set the generous example of softening down and removing the distinctions between the rich and the poor, by anticipating and removing the causes of misery in the mass of the community."



## EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

THE last number of our Review was edited mainly at OLD POINT COMFORT, of which we spoke in becoming terms. It has subsequently been the resort of a very large company, rendering the season one of the most brilliant and successful in the history of the "Point."

The month of August was taken up in excursions among the Mountain Springs of Virginia. For nearly two weeks we enjoyed the invigorating breezes, the delightful shades, the excellent fare, and luxurious baths of the BERKLEY SPRINGS, which are on the route of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, and within five or six hours distance from Baltimore. There is but a mile or two of staging to be overcome on a beautiful road, which is in favorable contrast to most of our mountain retreats. Mr. Strother, the proprietor, is an excellent caterer, and we have no doubt that, were the same means adopted to bring into notice the Berkley Springs, that are adopted by others, they would be largely resorted to by Southern people. At present, the number of guests ranges at about two hundred, mainly from Maryland and Virginia. Among them are many families abounding in those goodly gifts, ycleped children, who are here for the season; and judging from the rotund persons, the gleeful faces and frolicksome gambolings of the little crowd on the lawn before us, they are, undoubtedly, in the highest heaven dreamed of in their philosophy. Among the number is our own contribution to the infant world—a fair-faced, laughing-eyed, light-haired, slender-formed thing of some three summers, who, under the invigorating influences here at work, has leaped, as it were, from the arms almost, into a semi-womanhood, practicing the coquettish little airs "beyond the reach of art," which belong to the sex, and are, perhaps, inseparable from it at any age. In the wide range of the grounds, and under the far shading trees, she may roam, and frolic, and prance, illustrating perpetual motion in practice, with a freedom which recognizes no restraint. Rove on gay and bright childhood, chase the butterfly, gather the pebbles, float leaves upon the tiny spring rivulet; rove on! the thorns and thistles must soon sprout up and choke the ways that now are all flowery; the asp will hiss where the butterfly spreads his colors; and the pebbles will change to sharp and flinty rocks!

Such is the world, fair gamboler, which to thee is yet but an enigma. I would not for a diadem have it seem else than a garden now to one so gentle and confiding as thou art.

The Berkley Springs were a place of fashionable resort before the Revolution, and were visited very frequently by General Washington, who owned a cottage here. Thousands of guests were annually in attendance, and these Springs became the most considerable summer resort in America. The competition of Saratoga and White Sulphur afterwards turned the tide from them; but the recent great improvements, and the construction of the railroad almost to its doors, is restoring Berkley to its former rank. The hotel is a large and commodious building, and there are also a few outside cottages. That occupied by Mr. David Strother, the "Porte Crayon" of Harpers' Magazine, is most elegantly fitted up. The mountain scenery in the neighborhood is quite imposing, and the walks are picturesque. From the peak which overlooks the hotel, the view is boundless and grand, beyond measure, and brings within its scope the forests of Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. The waters can scarcely be denominated mineral, but are pure, and of a temperature at all seasons of about 72° or 74°. They are claimed as having medicinal properties, and undoubtedly constitute a most luxurious bath. The chief basin is sixty feet long by twenty feet width, and five feet depth, containing fifty thousand gallons. There are besides private baths, ladies' baths, etc., etc.

The detail of our further summer ramblings through the Valley of Virginia to "Rockbridge Alum," "White Sulphur," "Sweet and Red Sweet," "Hot" and "Warm Springs," and thence to Old Point must be deferred to our next issue.

In a letter from Athens, Geo., Prof. George Steuckrath writes as follows:

"Athens is the handsomest town south of the Potomac, and contains a number of beautiful private residences, adorned with fine shade trees and flower gardens. The society is refined, intelligent, and hospitable. It is the seat of the University of Georgia, the commencement exercises of which institution are now in progress. The speaking, so far, has been creditable to the students and instructors. This in-

stitution is one of the oldest in the South, having been established in 1801, as I noticed the following inscription on one of the buildings: 'The site of this building was chosen on the 6th day of April, 1801, in the 26th year of the Independence of the United States of America, by George Walton, Abraham Baldwin, John Milledge, John Twiggs, and Hugh Lawson, a committee of the *Senatus Academicus* of the University of Georgia, and for the benefit of the institution; the adjacent land was on that day given by John Milledge.' The President is Dr. Alonzo Church, supported by a faculty of learned gentlemen. Several gentlemen of distinction have graduated in this institution, among whom may be numbered several governors of the State, several United States Senators, and the present Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, the Hon. Howell Cobb.

"The population of Athens is about five thousand. The majority of the families are wealthy planters, who have chosen this place as a residence on account of the superior educational advantages, delightful climate, and general health; the thermometer rarely reaches over 92°, and this is the warmest weather experienced for a number of years.

"I had almost forgotten to mention the new and beautiful female institute just completed. The community is indebted principally to the energy and liberality of Thos. R. R. Cobb, Esq., a brother of Hon. Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury, for this institution. As an acknowledgement of this indebtedness, the trustees have named the Academy in honor of a favorite child of his, who died a few months since, '*The Lucy Cobb Institute*.'

"Athens contains from thirty to forty stores, which are in a flourishing condition, notwithstanding that the money-pressure has been so heavy.

"There are also two excellent hotels in Athens; the principal one called 'The Lanier House,' the proprietor of which is S. M. Lanier, a very pleasant and intelligent host; and the other one, called 'The Newton House,' under the charge of Mr. Crawford.

"Altogether I have been very much pleased with my short stay, and shall

not forget the kindness of the editorial corps."

One of the ablest and truest of the sons of the South, writes us as follows, from Alabama:

"What is the one prominent great political fact, obvious to every honest, intelligent mind, conversant with our public affairs? It is this, that the only vital issue now before the people—that *de facto* constitution moulding and law, making power of the country—is that of slavery and anti-slavery; in other words, it is a question of whether Southern civilization shall maintain its individuality, or perish under the march of the adverse majority sentiment—a question of whether the whites of the South, by preserving the present relations of master and slave, shall maintain their supremacy over an inferior race, together with their *consequent* moral, intellectual, and material well-being and progress; or whether timidly and wickedly succumbing to the madness that would inaugurate an unnatural fraternity and equality, we shall become a people debased in blood, beggared and brutalized; a byword and a reproach among all nations of the earth. The great landmarks of issues, thus momentous, must soon become so palpable that there will be no neutrals as there can be no neutral ground. Temporizing expedients cannot much longer mystify and ignore this mighty issue."

We beg leave to say to our friend, in the mildest way in the world, that he has grown to be a veritable "Old Fogie;" and that it is fashionable now, in the circles in which he once figured, to ignore all such views as entirely behind the times. The new epoch which is upon us dates from that great event, the "Kansas settlement," (*lucus a non lucendo*), and was proclaimed very nearly among the first by our gifted friend at Montgomery, who had, prior to that, out-Heroded all the Herods among us the other way. Since the new lights have been showing brighter and brighter, and zealots have been crowding to them, one cannot but be very much puzzled to know how different ones ever came to be followed, and must be much ashamed ever to have tolerated them. Our Alabama friend had better grind down his sword into a pruning hook, and take, like *Cincinnatus*, once more to the plough.

"Is not the Kansas question settled?" Certainly. That which was maintained by us to be the *true constitution* of the people, by virtue of its slavery element, has been potential enough to keep them out of the Union, and Kansas is to come before us next winter, with a new free State Constitution, and be re-

ceived as such, as every neophyte in political matters is well aware, despite of the hopes and wishes of Southern men, who, driven to the wall, made what seemed to them, and we have every confidence in their patriotism, the very best possible compromise. For this, if a member of that august body, (Congress,) it is not unlikely in preference to a separation from old and tried friends, a reluctant vote would have been given by us; but in what part of the South could a stigma attach to the immortal name of the lamented Quitman who thought and acted otherwise! It becomes us to be more considerate, too, of our censures hereafter, for it may be that even the "little giant" of the West, whom we are taught just now to pelt with every David's sling, though but recently "sick of hearing of Aristides the just," is, despite of some idiosyncrasies, with which we are as angry as any body else, quite as sound, reliable and worthy of the confidence of the people of the South on all questions essential to them, as any of the present statesmen of the North, or even as some from our own section who are talked about in Presidential connections. "So runs the world away."

*Is there still a chance that a Black Republican, Anti-Slavery, Seward administration may be precipitated upon us, from which the escape was so narrow two years ago, and in regard to which we were all much agreed that disunion would follow as a matter of course!* An able and most enlightened Senator from South Carolina, who did more than any one else by his fearless expositions last winter, to arouse the ire of the North, tells us—we hope he is misreported, but up to this time, there is no denial of the newspaper report of his speech—that the thing after all of abolition rule is not so intolerable, but that we may stand it on a pinch for a few years, meekly hoping for "something to turn up." Thus was it among the Athenians, that even the wise Phocian counseled submission whilst the great orator—was appealing to the dead of Marathon, against the common enemy of Greece.

*Has the discussion of the Slavery question satisfied the South, that it is intrinsically right and not wrong, and that in principle slavery and the slave-trade stand upon a common ground, and that one cannot be denominated piracy more than the other, (the existence or*

prohibition of the latter being a question only of expediency)—a federal Judge (placed upon the Supreme Court mainly on account of his sound states-rights views, and known at the time to be one of the extremest of all the extreme and bold men of the South in asserting her rights and defending them) in a charge to the Grand Jury at New Orleans, not only tells them what the law is, but as it were enters gratuitously into its defence, making his appeals to the judgment of Christendom!!

"For the suppression of the slave-trade," he says, "the efforts of the enlightened, humane, and just of all nations of christendom have been enlisted. Treaties exist among christian nations binding them to use their efforts for its suppression. The ablest jurists of the world condemn it as contrary to natural justice, and there is no christian State where the laws do not condemn it. We have no expectation that this trade will be revived, or that the United States will take steps backward in regard to their policy of humanity and right. Their laws have the support of the moral sense of the people of this Union."

*Have we been taught that the Union has been endangered by the agitation of unscrupulous men at the North, making use of the slavery question and the passions of the people there, as offensive weapons against us and our institutions, and rendering retaliation unavoidable and patriotic!* A sentence is quoted from the speech made in New England, by almost the leading man in the ranks of the South since the death of Mr. Calhoun, which confounds and proscribes altogether the Northern and the Southern side. We trust the passage is susceptible of another meaning, and will be soon interpreted thus by the eminent gentleman in question. If not, we are indeed at sea.

Finally, however, after the long episode through which we have wandered, provoked by the foggy views of our Alabama friend, it has been our fate to meet with another fogie in the person of a leading son of the Old Dominion. From the speech of the Hon. Willoughby Newton, before the societies of the Military Institute, which he is good enough to send us, we quote the following:

"The separation of the Colonies from the mother country, roused the spirit of the age and gave new scope to the energies of mankind. Who can say that it is not the purpose of a

wise Providence, by events now in progress, to effect results equally important—to give new development to the capacity and progressive power of the Anglo-Saxon race, and to bring within the range of free government and regulated liberty, the semi-barbarous hordes that now encumber the southern portion of this continent? But however this may be, the effect of a Southern Confederacy in advancing all the great interests of Virginia, would be immediate and incalculable. Her population, agriculture, commerce, and manufactures would advance with unexampled rapidity. The capital and energy necessary to carry on all useful enterprises, would spring as if by magic into being. A tariff for the support of the new government would give such protection to manufacturers, that all our water falls would bristle with machinery, and the hum of manufacturing industry would be heard in all inland towns of the State. The spindles of Lowell, Lawrence, and Manchester would be transferred to the falls of the Potomac, the Rappahannock, and the James, and the industrious artisans of the North would be transferred with them. The iron, coal, and other mineral treasures of our mountains would be brought into immediate requisition, and extensive foreign commerce would no longer be the dream of the enthusiast. Under judicious revenue and navigation laws, the ships of all nations would crowd the ports of the South, and the products of other lands be brought directly to our own shores, in exchange for our own. Norfolk would become the great emporium of foreign commerce for Virginia, and all the cities on our navigable waters would partake of her prosperity."

THERE is reason to hope for the establishment under the present Administration of a wiser system of diplomacy than has heretofore prevailed in regard to our relations with *Mexico*; and we commend to the attention of Gen. Cass the views on that subject which appear in the present number of the Review. In the language of a correspondent, "there never has been aught but a vulgar unmeaning diplomacy practised upon Mexico, without reference as to what party or power is in supremacy. The Court of Mexico has rather been an arena for politicians and speculators to play their game. We have never showed a policy; and have been invariably beat by the superior management and diplomacy of foreign Envoys. They interfere with the Government at will, and have succeeded in overshadowing the United States on all occasions.

"Spain had every motive and interest to harmonize with us as Americans, and to break the cord of bondage between Great Britain and herself, particularly in Cuba; she has long been restless under French and British overshadowing in our Black sea; and it was our true policy to prevent her from

a forcible reliance on England and France, and induce her to harmonize with the United States, which she was awakening to as she found a corresponding spirit in our federalism; but the consummation of such an alliance or commercial union in the American seas has been postponed, and Mexico and Spain remain suspended as to their relations with us, until a new line of policy is marked out by the present Administration. The Secretary professes to be acting in accordance with these views, and promises decisive action to regulate our Gulf relations. The Black sea belongs to Mexico, Cuba, and the United States; and our Sevastopolis at Vera Cruz, Havanna, and Pensacola, with our Gibraltar at Key West, should not be disturbed by French and English interference. They may disturb Europe if they please, and checkmate Russia; but Mexico, Cuba, and the United States cannot, and should not, tolerate interference."

In order to understand the vast progress which has been made by the United States in the last forty years, we have only to examine the national blue book, and see how the political and civil establishment of the Government has grown. Mr. Letcher, of Va., one of the strictest political economists on a recent occasion presented the contrast between 1815 and 1858. He says:

"And first, as to the number of States and organized Territories, and their area, in 1815; and the number of States and Territories, and their area, in 1858. At the former period we had eighteen States, covering an area of 504,412 square miles, and five organized Territories, (exclusive of the District of Columbia,) covering an area of 254,462 square miles. In 1858 we have thirty-two States, covering an area of 1,602,000 square miles, six organized Territories, (exclusive of the District of Columbia,) covering an area of 1,401,000 square miles. Besides this, we have the Mesilla valley, embracing 78,000 square miles, and Indian Territory, embracing 187,000 square miles. In 1815, therefore, the States and Territories covered 759,864 square miles, while in 1858 they cover 3,263,000 square miles, an area four times and one-third larger now than in 1815.

In 1815 the strength of our Army



was 10,000 men, while in 1858 its strength is 17,984 men.

In 1815 the Navy comprised 968 officers, of all grades, (including marines.) In 1858 the officers had increased to 1,336. In 1815 the number of men cannot be ascertained, but from the best evidence that can be obtained, the number was about 5,370. Now the number is 8,500. In 1816 we had 52 vessels, carrying 1,119 guns; 25 vessels with no armament; 4 bombs, and 11 gun-boats making 92. In 1858 we have 10 ships-of-the-line, carrying 872 guns; 10 frigates carrying 500 guns; 21 sloops-of-war, carrying 426 guns; 3 brigs, carrying 16 guns; 1 schooner, carrying 3 guns; 8 screw steamers of the first class, carrying 268 guns; 6 of the second class, carrying 89 guns; 2 of the third class, carrying 11 guns; 3 side-wheel steamers of the first class, carrying 24 guns; 1 of the second class, carrying 6 guns; 2 of the third class, carrying 6 guns—making a total of 2,221 guns. Besides these there are two tenders for the screw steamers, and one tender for the side-wheel steamers, and five permanent store and receiving ships.

Captain Wright, of the engineer department, to whom I applied for information on the subject of fortifications, says:

"I am not aware of any records in this office giving the number of fortifications in the United States in 1815, and believe it would be a work of much labor and time to ascertain with certainty what the number was. Many of the works bearing the name of forts were merely improvised field-works or batteries; while others, like those on Staten Island, for the defense of the entrance to the harbor of New York, were State works."

As to the number of fortifications in 1858, Captain Wright says:

"There are at the present time, under the charge of the engineer department, fifty-six distinct permanent works of fortifications on the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific coasts, and on the northern lake frontier, which are either completed or in course of construction. In addition to these, appropriations were made at the last regular session of Congress for ten additional works, on which little or nothing has been done toward the commencement."

The number of light-houses and light

vessels prior to 1815 was 49. In 1858 lights of all kinds, including beacon lights and light-vessels, existing and authorized to be built, number 602. About 33 have not been finished, but are in the course of construction.

In 1815 we had 99 collectors of the revenue, and 77 surveyors, and in 1821 we had 631 inferior officers in the revenue service. In 1858 the number of collectors is 116, and the number of surveyors 110—making 226. The number of inferior officers employed in the collection of the revenue is 3,088.

The number of land offices in 1815 was 19. The number in 1858 is 86.

The expenditure for the Indian service in 1815 amounted to \$111,750. The same service now requires an expenditure of \$4,158,430 39.

In 1815 the number of pensioners was estimated at 1,400, and the amount paid to them was \$98,000. At this time the number has increased to 13,186, and \$1,365,717 54 is now required for their payment.

We have always maintained that FREE NEGROES enjoyed a very moderate share of popularity and favor in the Northern States. The opinion is well sustained by Mr. Vallandigham, of Ohio, who recently in his contest with the Hon. Mr. Campbell, for a seat in Congress, admirably shows up their qualities:

"Sir, it is this same spurious and mongrel race who constitute your "free negroes," North and South. They will not be slaves, and they are not fit for freemen. And when this Government shall be broken up, and the fanaticism of the age shall have culminated in the North in Red Republicanism and negro equality, and the South shall have driven out her free negroes upon you, and you shall have stolen away her slaves, then your troubles with this race, which already has plagued America for a century, will but have begun. They are your petty thieves now; they rob your larders and your sheep-cotes; they do fill up your penitentiaries, and they would fill up your hospitals and your almshouses, *if you would let them.* Then they will be your highwaymen; your banditti; they will make up your mobs. With just enough of intelligence, derived from a white ancestry, to know, and enough of brutishness, inherited from the old African stock, to



avenge, in any form, the ignominy and degradation of four thousand years; with fetish ideas of religion and fanatic notions of politics, they are the *sans culottes*, who, led on by the worst of white men, will make your revolutions and overturn your governments. Sir, such things have already occurred in history. They are not the baseless fabrics of a vision. No wonder the States of the Northwest have begun to erect constitutional barriers stronger than ever against a negro population. In all this there is eminent wisdom and a statesmanlike foresight."

By a recent Mississippi decision, free negroes, residing out of that State, are entitled to receive legacies made to them in it. In regard to the particular case—

"The Court reach the conclusion that the testator took the slaves to Cincinnati, for the purpose of making them free, and leaving them there or in a free State to enjoy their freedom, and *not* with the view of bringing them back to this State in fraud of our laws and in violation of our policy. In this particular the case differed from that of *Hinds vs. Brazeal*, 2 How. 837. And upon this difference the subsequent opinion of the court was based. It was the turning point of the case. Had the proof established that the testator took them to Ohio, set them free with the view of bringing them back to this State, and had then *actually brought them back* and they had remained here, the emancipation would have been void, the legacy inoperative, and they would still have been slaves.

"But the testator having in good faith emancipated the slaves in Ohio, and domiciled them in Indiana, and left them there, they thereby became free and entitled to hold property according to the laws of the State of Indiana, in the same manner and to the same extent with other negroes in that State. Such an act of emancipation is not in contravention of the laws of this State, nor against its policy.

"The court further held that though free negroes were not citizens of the

United States, and though residence in this State is prohibited by positive law, yet they were neither aliens nor outlaws; but are *inhabitants and subjects* of the State of this Union in which they reside, and as such are entitled to all the rights which those States see proper to confer upon them; they will be entitled to the enjoyment of those rights, in any other State of this Union, as inhabitants of one of the United States and under its protection, unless their exercise should be positively prohibited by or be incompatible with the laws and policy of the State in which they might claim those rights."

*The Diplomatic History of the Administrations of Washington and Adams*, by Wm. H. Trescott.—It gives us great pleasure to call the attention of our readers to the volume, with the foregoing title, not long since published by Wm. H. Trescott, of South Carolina. We should have greatly preferred to have seen the imprint of a Charleston publisher on the title page, if, at the same time, equal circulation could have been secured for the work. But in view of circulation alone, we have no doubt Mr. Trescott has chosen wisely, by placing his manuscripts in the hands of Messrs. Little, Brown & Co. of Boston, who have given in this instance, as they give in all instances, the perfection of American typography.

Mr. Trescott has previously published a volume upon a kindred subject, viz: the *Diplomatic History of the American Revolution*, and the present work is in fact but a continuation of the former, although each is independent of the other. The field is new and the harvest gathered by Mr. Trescott is abundant, but we think that a skillful gleaner might even yet pick up a few stray sheaves left unnoticed. Mr. Trescott, however, makes no pretension of having exhausted the subject, he only gives us a broad and bold outline of a hitherto unwritten chapter of American History.

It is no part of our purpose to review this interesting book. We wish merely to call public attention to it, and to contribute our mite towards bringing into notice a work well deserving a careful perusal. The liberal and catholic spirit which pervades it, the chaste, easy, simple, yet dignified style in which it is written, are alike honorable to the author, and to Southern letters of which

Mr. Tresscott is a conspicuous ornament.

We quote a few passages from the concluding pages describing the results of the foreign policy of Washington's Administration:

"The truest patriots mistrusted each other, and misinterpreting each other's motives with the acuteness of excited and jealous suspicion, their opposition threatened to render any moderate policy impracticable. Without a fixed policy, with a limited and enemy-bounded territory, and enfeebled by radical political dissension at home, it is now almost impossible to realize the extent of our peril. And had foreign powers been allowed to obtain commanding influence in the National Councils, the character of the country would have been diminished, its interests mutilated, and our national existence must have dragged its slow way from a crippled and sickly infancy to a maimed and dependent manhood.

"Fortunately for us, however, sustained by wise, informed and firm Counsellors, Washington succeeded even against a strongly excited popular prejudice, in establishing the perfect National Independence of the country. And to have effected this, as they did, without war, and in the face of the difficulties, both foreign and domestic, of the new Government, is the crowning glory of those great men, whose arms enfranchised an empire, whose wisdom created a Constitution, and whose steadfast sagacity inaugurated a national life of unbroken and almost fabulous prosperity. They differed, as men will do, sometimes in ignorance, sometimes in passion; but in their labors, they were joined together, and in their fame, they should not be divided. Honored be their memories,—the severe simplicity of Jay's antique virtue, the subtle and eloquent reasoning of Jefferson's wonderful intellect, the broad and ample sweep of Hamilton's national pride, the impetuous and abounding patriotism of the elder Adams, the varied excellency of Pinckney and Morris and Monroe, but above all, the calm, sure judgment of him in whose majestic presence even these men bowed.

"With feeble means, they achieved great ends; in doubt and difficulty they never faltered in a great purpose. They were men, true and brave, and elevated; their tempers chastened by a long and patient experience, their ambition tempered by a wise forbearance, and their abilities quickened by a devoted patriotism, which gave vigor and purpose to their policy."

We have received from the publisher, Charles De Silver, of Philadelphia, through Morrison, of Washington city, the *interlinear* translation of *Horace*, being one of a series of translations of the classics intended for the use both of teacher and pupil. The translation is the well known one of Stirling, arranged by Nuttall, and revised by Thomas Clark. It is generally correct so far as we have examined, although we think that Smart's translation, upon the whole, is superior, spite of some inaccuracies of rendering, and many inelegancies of diction. We doubt very much the policy of placing translations of any kind, but more par-

ticularly the *interlinear*, into the hands of students, who, at best, are too much disposed to avoid labor, without which, excellence can never be attained. We attribute the superficiality in scholarship of the present question, in a large measure, to the indiscreet use of translations which, in these days, unfortunately, are so accessible to youth. It is but right to state, however, that there are some high authorities in favor of the method of teaching languages by *interlinear* translations, and among others it had the approbation of even so vigorous and practical a thinker as Sydney Smith. The views of this gentleman upon this important subject will be found strongly stated in an article contributed by him, in 1826, to the *Edinburgh Review*, entitled *Hamilton's Method of Teaching Languages*; (*Modern British Essayists*, vol. 3, p. 233, et seq.; Phil. Ed.) For ourselves, although we acknowledge the force of some of his arguments, we take the liberty of dissenting from his conclusion.

The new *Latin English Lexicon*, by Dr. Crooks and Professor Schene, of Dickinson College, which was announced in our July number, has since been issued from the press of Lippencott & Co., of Philadelphia. It is founded on the popular work of Ingersher, which has been received with great favor throughout Germany. The American authors appear to have executed their undertaking with care and thoroughness, and have furnished a book admirably adapted to the wants of students. The significators are philosophically arranged, the leading definitions being indicated by a type which instantly arrests the eye. Synonymous words are distinguished with a precision which we have not noticed in any similar work. We observe, too, that the plan of this lexicon embraces especially, the illustration of the Latin authors universally read in institutions of learning—the classic authors *par excellence*.

We are indebted to W. J. Duffie, of Newberry, South Carolina, for a copy of a most admirable reprint of *Ramsay's History of South Carolina*. This work though of universally recognised interest and value, has been for many years found only in the largest libraries, public and private; and the republication is a service to the State. It is a Carolina work in every particular, paper, print, binding, and subject; and

not surpassed by any of Northern fabrication. Price \$3 50.

*Two Millions*, by Wm. Allen Butler; author of *Nothing to Wear*; New York: D. Appleton & Co.

A little volume issued in very handsome style. The poem was read before the Societide of Yale College, and is only surpassed in graphic power, and inimitable satire by the author's earlier gem.

THE article on the *Atlantic Telegraph*, which appears in the present issue of the Review, though greatly at fault in its prediction, relative to the laying of the telegraphic cable, and its capacities for the transmission of intelligence, is nevertheless a very useful and valuable paper. The author is an experienced, practical telegrapher, and has some very large views in regard to electrical matters. We have not wondered at his doubts however—for if success has been attained which now seems probable, it has been by "conquering impossibilities." Indeed many of the greatest feats of every age have been accomplished in spite of opposing demonstration and it may almost be considered as *scientifically* correct, as was held by one of the early fathers in regard to faith—"this is impossible, it is therefore true."

That the great Atlantic is belted or bridged and that thought is sent through it with the velocity of light may be considered the great event of the age, All honor to the originators and executors of the herculean work. Mr. Calhoun in the spirit of prophecy said twelve years ago.

"Magic wires are stretching themselves in all directions over the earth, and when their mystic meshes shall at length have been perfected our globe itself will be endowed with a sensitiveness which will render it impossible to touch it on any one point and the touch not be felt from one end of the world to the other. \* \* \* And this work is at yet but commenced; it is but the breaking of the dawn of the world's great jubilee. It promises a day of more refinement, more intellectual brightness, more moral elevation, and consequently of more human felicity than the world has ever seen from its creation."

THERE are on our table two or three manuscript articles advocating the *re-opening of the slave-trade*, and discussing the general subject with much

ability. Having completed the publication of Mr. Pettigrew's adverse exposition, we shall, in our next and other issues, be enabled to give attention to these articles. Regarding the subject under the existing state of things as perhaps not a very practicable one, we are unwilling to occupy with it too much of our space.

SEE in our advertising columns the card of the *New Orleans School of Medicine*, whose regular course of lectures commences on the 15th November, 1858. Though only in the third year of its existence, the reputation of this school is so well established that about two hundred students will receive the benefit of its instructions the coming session. Among the Professors is Dr. Fenner, who is largely known as the author of several volumes of *Southern Medical Reports*, and as editor for many years of the *New Orleans Medical Journal*, and now of the *New Orleans Medical News and Hospital Gazette*, to whose energies and zeal the establishment of the school may be mainly referred. The other Professors are all men of ability, and large or growing practice. In diseases of the eye, Dr. Baird has established a reputation enjoyed by few in America. Dr. Flint, recently elected, was long the editor of the *Buffalo Medical Journal*, and is the author of several very valuable medical works upon "Continued Fever," "The Respiratory Organs," "Heart Sounds in Health and Disease," etc., etc. He has, also, for a number of years, occupied chairs in the *Buffalo and Louisville Medical Colleges*.

THE following numbers of the *Review* are wanted by the publishers who will give their value for them, if forwarded to New Orleans office. Agents will please procure them: 1846, January, February, March, April, July, September, and October; 1847, January, March, May, and June; 1849, August; 1851, February and June; 1853, June and October; 1854, September; 1855, October; 1856, January and August; 1857, May and October; 1858, January, March, May, and June.

A FEW sets of our *Industrial Resources of the Southwest* still remain on hand, 3 vols. Price \$5, postage free.

SEVERAL provoking typographic errors crept into the article on *Russell's Magazine and Mexico*, for which the proof reader, and not the editor, must be responsible.

SEE the card of the *McComb's Cotton Tie and Press*, which are articles of great interest to our agricultural world at the South.

IT is the intention of the Editor of the *Review* to resume, in December next, his residence (for some time interrupted) *permanently* in *New Orleans*, where the main office of the *Review* will be again established.

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Attention is earnestly solicited, and an examination is requested at the depot of the subscriber, who will take pleasure in showing this article, assuring the community that a call upon him does not involve a purchase.

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My dear Sir: In justice to you and a debt I owe to a suffering and I suppose, a world of suffering people, I state what your Cherry Cough Remedy—your Cherry Expectorant—has done for me, when all other remedies have failed to give me relief. In the fall of 1867, living in St. Louis, where I have resided the time for the last sixteen years, I took a severe cold which settled on my lungs, and confined to my bed, and dined and blistered by doctors for several weeks, but did not get my legs again, but not cured of my head, coughing, and rattling and tickling in my throat, which continued incessantly for more than six months, always the worst in the winter. I was so much isolated I had coughed enough to kill a dozen common men, and that I must have died in a stage of consumption. I gave up my mind I must die. When I called at your office in January you will find that I was coughing so hard I could not talk to you, my lungs were known. You said that you would cure my cough. As there was no better of your Cherry Expectorant, I thought I would not slight it, and your medicine was the first to try it; and in thankfulness I ever remember to do so. In but a few days it began to alleviate and diminish my cough and all tickling in my throat, and before I was more than three months of the use of that bottle, I was entirely cured, and for several years not even rain enough, though exposed day and night, in all weathers, in tropical climates. In March, while travelling in North Carolina, I took a severe cold, and my cough commenced again, and also the tickling in my throat at intervals; and before my arrival in New Orleans, on the 15th inst. on some nights my coughing would commence and continue an hour or two. I then procured another bottle from your office in less than two days I was entirely relieved again. I am now determined to stick to your Cherry Cough Remedy in the coming of a cough, a very small dose will cure it entirely. I am now so satisfied it is the best Cherry Remedy now known to the world, and it is only you who can give the candid and sufficient part of the human family, so precious a remedy without much of cost. Its price is very low, but the tongue of ten thousand of joyful and contented happy people. So I recommend your Cherry Expectorant should be bought before it is too late.

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WASHINGTON, August, 1859. J. W. S. DE BOW.